THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

Vol. 12 *Spring* · 1943 *No.* 2

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In the Workshop

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THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

Emerson said, "The scholar is that man who must take up into himself all the ability of the time, all the contributions of the past, all the hopes of the future. He must be an university of knowledges. . . . This confidence in the unsearched might of man belongs, by all motives, by all prophecy, by all preparation, to the American Scholar."

The name of this quarterly is the title of Ralph Waldo Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa address delivered at Harvard in 1837, called by James Russell Lowell "an event without any former parallel in our literary annals," and by Oliver Wendell Holmes "our intellectual Declaration of Independence."

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THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

VOLUME 12 *Spring 1943* NUMBER 2

Editorial

John W. Nason

EVERY MEMBER of the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa has a direct concern in what is happening to liberal education in this country. Two articles in this issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR register a timely warning. In the address at Duke University on January 14, 1943, printed here in full, Mr. Willkie raised the most effective and influential voice yet heard in defense of a liberal education. Dean Gauss of Princeton in a statement worthy of the Phi Beta Kappa Senate lays down a program for our institutions of liberal arts.

One is a challenge; the other, a charter. It is high time for both. The fifteen months since Pearl Harbor have been a mad scramble among educational institutions to turn themselves into training grounds for war — either by seeking military units until the campus bulges or by substituting a wide variety of technical courses calculated to prepare college men and women for driving a tank or finding ready employment in a war industry. What has shocked the thoughtful in this procedure is not the necessity of shaping the instruments of education to the works of war; it is the alacrity and seeming enthusiasm with which it has been done. It raises the question whether the president of the United Chapters, Marjorie Hope Nicolson, was right when she said in an address at Columbia University that "the great fault of education in our time is that we have not really *believed that education matters*."

"Education as usual" is out. There is no dispute about that. In total war the colleges and universities must play their part. Their technical resources must be used for training men in the skills of mechanized warfare. Their residential facilities should be used where barracks or other facilities are unsuitable or unavailable.

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Is there no contribution of higher education beyond these services? Does education matter so little that we can dispense with it with clear impunity? During the past two decades the Germans developed the best system of purely technical education the world has seen. And witness the results.

The truth is that in total war a liberal education matters just as deeply as the technical training. Without the latter the war will not be won; without the former the victory will be worthless. It is inevitable that there will be many fewer to enjoy the liberal education. That makes it more imperative to preserve the liberal arts for those who are available This war is not merely a question of tanks and ships, of battles and supply. It is a question of the kind of world we will to live in. It is a question of values and insights. It is a question of how well we are prepared to face the complex and momentous issues which face the postwar world. If liberal education ever matters, it matters in time of war. If education is not bankrupt, it must strive to preserve throughout the inevitable adjustments of a world at war its responsibility to illuminate the present significance of human struggle and to educate men and women who will shape the future of a better world. "The destruction of the tradition of the liberal arts," said Willkie, "at this crisis in our history, when freedom is more than ever at stake would . . . be a crime, comparable, in my opinion, with the burning of the books by the Nazis. And it would have approximately the same results. Burn your books — or, what amounts to the same thing, neglect your books — and you will lose freedom, as surely as if you were to invite Hitler and his henchmen to rule over you."

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Freedom and the Liberal Arts

Wendell L. Willkie

I THINK it can be stated as almost an historical truism that the greatest civilizations of history have been the best educated civilizations. And when I speak of education in this sense I do not have in mind what so many today claim as education, namely, special training to do particular jobs. Clearly, in a technological age like ours, a great deal of training is necessary. Some of us must learn how to be mechanics, some how to be architects, or chemists. Some will have a special aptitude for medicine. And a great many will have — or think they have — a mysterious talent inducing them to undertake the practice of law.

But none of these specialties constitutes true education. They are training for skills by which men live. I am thinking, rather, of what we call the liberal arts. I am speaking of education for its own sake: to know for the sheer joy of understanding; to speculate, to analyze, to compare, and to imagine.

Look back across the panorama of history. Is it not true that the pinnacles of civilization have been achieved by the cities and states most proficient in the liberal arts and occupations? In their contributions to the enrichment of human life, the Greeks, I believe, tower above us all. Yet this is not because the Greeks were good navigators, which they were; nor because they were great architects, which indeed they were. It was rather because almost all their leaders — and many of their citizens whose names we do not know — enjoyed knowledge and reverenced the arts. The Greek cities conquered the eastern Mediterranean with the sword. But they conquered posterity with their minds.

The onrush of what we call modern civilization has obscured this essential truth of history. People — some of them in very high places — have openly disparaged the liberal arts. You are told that they are of little help to a man in earning his living or

An address delivered at Duke University January 14, 1943. Published with permission.

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in making a contribution to his fellow men. The thing to do, you are told, is to get trained; learn an occupation; make yourself proficient in some trade or profession. Of course this advice is sound, so far as it goes. But the inference, and sometimes the outright declaration that frequently follows it, strikes at the very roots of our society. The liberal arts, we are told, are luxuries. At best you should fit them into your leisure time. They are mere decorations upon the sterner pattern of life which must be lived in action and by the application of skills. When such arguments gain acceptance that is the end of us as a civilized nation.

Today we are engaged in a desperate war, and we need for the fighting forces almost all the young men who would, normally, have had an opportunity to acquire a liberal education. It is right and proper that these young men should abandon their education temporarily and go forth to fight. It is right and proper that the universities of this country should turn over to the armed forces whatever facilities can be made useful. The government is moving very vigorously in this direction and no patriotic citizen will fail to cooperate.

But I must confess that the attitude in which the conversion of the colleges has been undertaken, together with certain public declarations, fill me with alarm. A few weeks ago, for instance, an Administration spokesman advised all young girls to devote their time to technical training courses in college or to leave college and go to work. Now it is clear that we cannot solve our man power problem without putting women to work. Yet the fact is that there are millions of women above college age, not needed in their homes or for the care of their children, who are still available. Until these older women are all employed there is no need whatever to drag young women out of the colleges and to deprive them of their one great opportunity for a liberal education. On the contrary, it is a very harmful thing to do. For just now millions of our young men are being deprived of this opportunity, and the per capita percentage of college attendance in the United States is going to fall to a record low for our time. At least, therefore, let us preserve, through the women of America, the continuity of the liberal arts.

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In fact, so important are the liberal arts for our future civilization that I feel that education in them should be as much a part of our war planning as the more obviously needed technical training. There will be a certain number of young men in every college who, for one reason or another, are not available for military service. They should be given the facilities whereby they may go on with their education. There will be a certain number who will be returned disabled for active service, but of sound and eager mind. Ways should be provided by which they may continue their education. In addition, there should be some provision in the Manpower program for leaving a nucleus in the colleges of men whose aptitudes qualify them as definitely for our long range needs as, let us say, other men are obviously qualified for medicine. So, the structure of the Liberal Arts Colleges will be preserved during the war and so, minds will be trained and enriched for the humanizing and civilizing of the world to come after.

Furthermore, the men and women who are devoting their lives to such studies should not be made to feel inferior or apologetic in the face of a P.T. boat commander or the driver of a tank. They and all their fellow citizens should know that the preservation of our cultural heritage is not superfluous in a modern civilization; is not a luxury. That it is in fact what gives meaning to that civilization. It is what we are fighting for. And they are serving their country just as surely in fitting themselves to preserve it as are the men who fly the planes or man the ships or fire the guns.

For we cannot win a true victory unless there exists in this country a large body of liberally educated citizens. This is a war for freedom — freedom here and freedom elsewhere. But if we are going to risk our lives for freedom, we must at the same time do all we can to preserve the deep springs from which it flows. Recently we have been prone to think of freedom in purely economic terms. It is true that a man cannot be free unless he has a job and a decent income. But this job and this income are not the sources of his freedom. They only implement it. Freedom is of the mind. Freedom is in that library of yours,

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around which this campus is built. When you range back and forth through the centuries, when you weigh the utterance of some great thinker or absorb the meaning of some great composition, in painting or music or poetry; when you live these things within yourself and measure yourself against them — only then do you become an initiate in the world of the free. It is in the liberal arts that you acquire the ability to make a truly free and individual choice.

Our American higher education for many years has felt the influence of the German university. And it has been a harmful influence. It has encouraged the sacrifice of methods that make for wide intelligence to those which are concerned only with highly specialized knowledge; it has held that the subject is more important than the student; that knowledge is more important than understanding; that science, in itself, can satisfy the soul of man; and that intelligent men should not be allowed to concern themselves with politics and the administration of state. Such matters should be left to trained politicians. President Hopkins of Dartmouth has stated these trends more clearly than anyone I know and has pointed out that "it would be a tragic paradox if, as a result of the war, we were to allow our system of higher education to be transformed into the type of education which has made it so easy for a crowd of governmental gangsters like Hitler's outfit to commandeer a whole population."

The destruction of the tradition of the liberal arts, at this crisis in our history, when freedom is more than ever at stake, would mean just that. It would be a crime, comparable, in my opinion, with the burning of the books by the Nazis. And it would have approximately the same results. Burn your books — or, what amounts to the same thing, neglect your books — and you will lose freedom, as surely as if you were to invite Hitler and his henchmen to rule over you.

The preservation of our system of liberal education during the war will make an enormous difference in the moral and human tone of our society in the future, of the very atmosphere in which the peace is made, and, since we are not an isolated society, of all civilization after the war. Let me remind you of Irwin Ed-

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man's recent fine statement of the significance of the very word "humanities." "It is not trivial art or playful thought. It is the name for the whole of the tradition of civilized life which from the Greeks down has accented freedom in political life and individuality and creativeness in personal relations, creativeness in art, and originality in the experiment of living which is each individual's opportunity. If the humanities, or the humanistic temper which they promote, are permitted to lapse now, we shall have lost the peace before we have gained it, and the real victory after the war will be to the way of life, inhuman, tyrannical, mechanical, of those whom we shall outwardly have conquered."

In pleading for the humanities I am not preaching any gospel of high-browism. The relationship between a liberal education and freedom is good sound American doctrine. There are hundreds of colleges in this land of more or less advanced education, and in recent years they have been graduating thousands of students every year. Naturally, all of these graduates are not proficient in the liberal arts. And yet no matter how they may have neglected their college courses, or how over-zealously they may have specialized, they have won some measure of equality with all the great minds and all the challenging personalities of all time. That fact has been immeasurably important in making our American doctrine of equality a real and living doctrine.

I regret that during the last several decades we have had a tendency to overlook this important American fact. And I think we are paying the penalty for our shortsightedness in unexpected ways.

For instance, there has been a trend recently toward what is called "leadership" — but what is really nothing more than the idolization of individual men. In Italy, Mussolini took the title of Il Duce — the Leader — on the grounds that he was the one man who could fulfill the destiny of the Italian people. Not long after, in Germany, Hitler began calling himself Der Führer. The politics advocated by these men were totalitarian, and therefore, antipathetic to our way of life. Yet the over-emphasis on single individuals has gone on, even in countries which are fighting totalitarianism now. Everywhere you turn today, you

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find people clinging to certain men who have been exalted in the public mind out of all proportion to their talents, however great. In Russia there is Josef Stalin, in China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, in Britain, Winston Churchill, in the United States, Franklin Roosevelt. The stature of these men is in every case out of the ordinary and they deserve the high positions they have won. And yet, dare we say that any one of them is indispensable? The moment we say that, our world must change.

I do not know all the reasons for this emphasis on single individuals. But I do perceive a connection, here in America at any rate, between that emphasis and the neglect of the liberal arts. Had we more faith in liberal education, we would have, I believe, more faith in ourselves — more faith in the great leavening process of democracy, which forever pushes new men to the top.

I have had the privilege of meeting most of the great men of our time and of conversing with them intimately. I have talked with and know all the allied leaders I have just mentioned, and many more besides. Yet I can say truthfully that, however impressive their abilities — and I have found them impressive — I saw nothing in them that could not conceivably be duplicated in Akron, Ohio, where I practiced law for many years, or here at Duke University. I think it was William Howard Taft who said that you could find a man fit to sit on the Supreme Court Bench of the United States, in any town in America of more than 5,000 population. Possibly Mr. Taft exaggerated. Yet surely the *principle* has been proved time after time in American history. The vast American educational system has set men free — free not alone to serve, but free also to lead. Education is the mother of leadership.

Now I think there is another phenomenon of our time which is linked with our failure to grasp the real significance of liberal education. This is an excessive indulgence in the practice of what is known as censorship and propaganda. Of course, censorship of military matters is necessary in order to conduct a war. But this principle is being daily, if not hourly, abused and extended to many other matters that have no military significance whatso-

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ever. More and more the doctrine of telling us what we should know is being adopted.

It is of course natural for men who attain high office to seek to preserve themselves from the ordeal of public criticism and to attempt to stimulate approval of their policies and so to perpetuate themselves in power.

And those who are suppressing free discussion among us and our allies have of course a rationalization for their policy. They say that they must conduct political warfare. In the conduct of political warfare, they claim, it is damaging to say certain things. The enemy, they tell us, picks them up, distorts them, uses them against us. All this, of course, is true enough. But what of it? The time has never been when men did not seek to distort the utterances of their enemies for their own advantage. And what has won out in the long battle? Always the truth. Spread the facts, analyze them, debate them, make them available to all the world. *There is no other form of political warfare that can possibly win the great political struggle in which we are engaged. Truth alone can win it.*

Is not this worship of leaders, this willingness to be told what to think, this unquestioning acceptance of unnecessary restrictions on our freedom of speech, is not all this part of the same trend — the trend away from self-reliant judgment, the trend away from the little towns, the trend away from the dignity of the common man, the trend away from liberal education, by which men achieve equality in fact as well as in law? We have seen these impulses take root in other countries, which are now our enemies. We have seen them carried to their dreadful conclusions. We have seen the exaltation of government, the abasement of culture, and the resulting violation of all that civilization cherishes. We have seen the devolution of human aspiration. It is a tragedy as great as men have ever witnessed. And it is our task, a task in which we shall be engaged for the rest of our lives, first to stop it, and then to repair it.

There is much discussion now — and quite properly — of the matter of war aims. Yet I have listened to some of these speeches with misgiving. I have shuddered to hear a member of our gov-

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ernment planning, when the war is over, to police the education of our late enemies, after the traditional manner of conquerors. To disarm those enemies, yes. To take whatever measures are necessary to prevent rearming, yes. To remove from the necks of the people an enslaving totalitarian rule, certainly. But having done that, education is another matter. It must grow out of and carry on a native culture. To determine the nature and manner of their own education is the right of men everywhere. And alien ideals superimposed by force will only produce resentment and hatred.

Too many of the planners, I feel, are trying to look ahead by looking backward. Too many are seeking the future in the past. I find in many of their speeches an attempt to solve everything by their pet economic theories — the same attempt that has nearly ruined us during the last ten or fifteen years. The study and practice of sound economics is indispensable to a successful solution of the peace. And yet even sound economics cannot define the aim of the peace, nor the aim of the war. To discover that aim we must go deeper. We must establish beyond any doubt the equality of men. And we shall find this equality, not in the different talents which we severally possess, nor in the different incomes which we severally earn, *but in the great franchise of the mind*, the universal franchise, which is bounded neither by color, nor by creed, nor by social status. Open the books, if you wish to be free.

Now, in the midst of war, I give you as war aims the perpetuation of this university, your right to attend it, and the certainty that your children, if they so wish it, can follow in your steps.

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Wartime Policy of Phi Beta Kappa

Christian Gauss

For the Phi Beta Kappa Senate and its Committee on Policy

OUR American system of higher education as developed over the past century and a half functions in normal times only because young men and women in the general age level from eighteen to twenty-two are free under conditions prescribed by the colleges to elect studies designed to "prepare them for life." Of recent years this large body of students has consisted, roughly, of about 700,000 young men and 500,000 young women.

The operation of the Selective Service Act will soon have removed from the colleges most of these young men, and such as remain or are returned to the colleges will for the most part be pursuing studies not to "prepare them for life" but to prepare them for war. Nearly all of them will be living on our campuses for relatively brief periods upon terms prescribed not by the colleges but by the Army and Navy. The nature of the studies pursued particularly by the groups being trained for army service will be highly specialized and the aim war-vocational. Even in the more liberal program of the Navy there will be relatively little scope for study of the "liberal arts" and as the president of one of our large eastern universities admitted with regret, "the humanities are out for the duration." This dislocation which our educational system is undergoing is by far the most serious which it has ever been called upon to face. It is imperative that the average citizen recognize that this sudden overwhelming of an institution long established is fraught with grave possibilities not for education alone but for life in our democracy.

The Work of the Men's Colleges

The intelligent citizen has been unfavorably impressed by the spectacle of associations of teachers, of college athletic directors,

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of institutions or groups of institutions pleading in their own interest that there be no curtailment of their particular prerogatives in this period of total war. College graduates and college faculties must face this crisis with honesty, with courage, and with faith. Childish repining and selfish pleas merely delay and confuse. At a time when their former undergraduates and younger colleagues are called upon to face the sacrifice of life, every teacher and every institution must recognize that the first obligation is to do everything in their power to win this war. We must all unite to strengthen our country's unalterable determination to win the war completely and swiftly and be willing to sacrifice all we have if need be to that end. This willingness to join in the common effort and the common sacrifice should, however, not be allowed to contribute further unnecessary elements of disorganization or blind us to the fact that it is also the responsibility of the colleges to preserve all of our educational system that can be preserved without loss to our war effort. Even the desire to sacrifice may be pushed to excess and it is necessary to remind ourselves that it will be a tragedy to allow this necessarily serious diminution of college training in the liberal arts to be carried to reckless extremes. Every college or university that can continue to give liberal arts education if only to a small portion of its students is bound to do so and the Senate of Phi Beta Kappa urges all member colleges to do this wherever it is humanly possible. It is important that our tradition of liberal training be not severed. A complete break even for a brief period will result in serious damage to American education. Nor is such a break necessary. Even the most thoroughgoing use of available man power in military and industrial services will not remove from college campuses *all* our young men. Men physically disqualified for military service should be trained to serve as a connecting link in our liberal arts tradition. Many of our older professors of humanistic subjects cannot be effectively transferred to other fields. The major values of civilization must be defended against the dangers which threaten them. Where if not in the colleges can such defense be best carried on? Our older humanists should therefore be made to feel that in maintaining our American

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educational tradition they are rendering the most important "war service" open to them.

Women's Colleges and Coeducational Colleges

All those familiar with the history of higher education in America will recognize the part which our War between the States and our participation in World War I played in opening academic doors and careers in scholarship to women. This war will undoubtedly offer them even larger opportunities. They are already free to enter the Army and Navy and many trades, from which they were formerly excluded. Women's colleges and young women in coeducational colleges have before them not only new opportunities but new responsibilities. For the time being they must shoulder the large part of the burden of continuing humanistic studies. This is true not only of studies on the undergraduate level but on the graduate level as well. Into their hands may be entrusted for some years the larger responsibility for the advancement of learning. Upon them as a group trained to undertake it must fall many of the problems of the peace. It is their privilege and their duty to prepare themselves by intensive study for the problems of the postwar world; it is their privilege and duty to carry on the best traditions of our past in order that our country's future may not suffer.

Unless and until conscription of the woman power of the nation becomes as essential and as universal as that of man power, women with aptitudes fitting them for the learned professions should feel it their duty to carry on the intellectual life of the country, should welcome their greater responsibility and see that total war does not even for a brief interval interrupt the advancement of learning nor widen the "cultural lag" in that civilization, which, given so richly by Europe to America, America must continue to uphold and maintain.

High Schools and Secondary Schools

The problem of the future of the liberal arts is not limited to the colleges. In any period of war with its attendant excitement there is a tendency in many fields to make sudden and

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abrupt changes on the impulse of the moment, to remember the pressure of the immediate, and to forget the long view. Yet failure to take the long view into account is inexcusable in secondary education, where we are today preparing the generation that must guide the destiny of our country thirty and forty years from now.

Already the administrators of many public school systems, particularly in metropolitan areas, have announced a complete transformation of educational emphases (in some cases priding themselves publicly upon the rapidity with which drastic changes have been carried through). The general tendency in these schools has been toward requiring that a large, sometimes a major, part of students' time is to be spent upon crafts and skills which are considered immediately necessary for the war effort. Yet not *all* boys nor *all* girls from the ages of twelve to fifteen have aptitudes which will make them valuable in such skills and crafts. One must question still more the short view implicit in these abrupt transformations. Surely even the most pessimistic do not think that the war will last for a generation. If it should last (let us say three years), what of the students who are now twelve to sixteen? They may or may not have been trained for war; *they will not have been trained for peace.* And in the meantime where are the potential doctors, lawyers, teachers, scholars, statesmen to receive the rudiments of their training? In time of war it is necessary that the secondary schools of a nation, even more than the colleges, take the long view of preparing those students whose abilities warrant, to become soundly and broadly educated men for a postwar world.

Graduate and Undergraduate Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa

In many cases groups devoted to scholarship like our chapters of Phi Beta Kappa are asking what can we do in this period of general upset and disorganization. Very frequently they feel that their source of new members is dwindling and may even entirely disappear. We realize that in many cases the difficulties of maintaining their former organization may seem insuperable. In spite of this we feel that activities should be continued at all cost, but

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in no case should standards of admission be lowered in the interest of larger membership. In these dark days they must work for their own self-enlightenment and the enlightenment of others. We shall speak later of the work of reexamination of the criteria of a liberal education in which all members of Phi Beta Kappa must participate. We desire particularly that our younger members contribute to the effective reassertion of the liberal philosophy by our Society and by institutions of higher learning in general. In undergraduate chapter meetings it will be wise to discuss in a spirit of rational idealism the critical problems which confront the nation and the world. In some communities it will be appropriate for the chapter, independently or in co-operation with civic groups, to provide a public forum where the meaning and the problems of democracy can be explored in the spirit of liberal culture and that love of truth which by members of our Society should be recognized as the "guide of life." The graduate associations are urged to undertake a similar work of orientation and as part of their public service to provide a forum for their communities where the problems of the peace can be studied and discussed in the spirit of enlightened tolerance.

The Need of Redefining and Readjusting the Program of the Liberal Arts College

The Senate of Phi Beta Kappa has long been conscious of the need for redefining the program of college and university training in the liberal arts. For the past five years a committee of the Senate has been giving its attention to the study of this problem and considerable material has been gathered and canvassed. The magnitude of the problem and interruptions necessitated by call to war service leave the study incomplete. One conclusion is however clearly inescapable. No more pressing problem faces higher education in America. We must reexamine and redefine what we mean by liberal arts studies and the liberal arts college. This problem cannot be entirely divorced from the study of democracy and its needs today. Nor can we put off its discussion until after the war. It is so urgent, so fraught with consequences to our national life that it should be settled now.

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We all must recognize that the perversion of systems of education into instruments of propaganda has been one of the causes which facilitated the rise and strengthened the hold of the totalitarian states. We should also recognize that this perversion of education in Western European culture became more easily possible as the function and purpose of higher education became obscured. There was everywhere an urgent need for readjusting educational systems to meet the requirements of our modern age of science and technology. The issue was nowhere squarely faced, not even in our own country, and the curricula of our colleges and universities were rapidly becoming a hodge-podge of subjects without adequate coordination or clearly defined aims. In America we still give lip service to the faith of our forbears in the "liberal arts college." Phi Beta Kappa believes that in essence there can be no better system of higher education for a democracy than that which the liberal arts college was designed to provide. This does not mean that we should continue unchanged the curriculum of 1900 or of 1776 or of the Middle Ages. We have sinned on the one hand through blind traditionalism and on the other through our easy faith in newer educational nostrums. We have been willing naively to believe that any kind of education if widely enough diffused would still be the "salvation of democracy." In the light of what has happened to education in Germany we must reexamine and redefine what we mean by "liberal arts."

Our fathers believed that the earnest study of religion, philosophy, science, and the languages and literatures of the classical world would give the student an initiation into fruitful fields of study and lead to a grasp of that central core of truth which is valid for civilized men. Education in the liberal arts should make young people conscious of their nature and destiny, conscious of the possibilities which are open to them as human beings and of the weaknesses which so often have thwarted and may still thwart their realization. These older branches of the curriculum were often called the "humanities" and this was indeed proper, for the aim of education in the humanities was and must be still to make men humane. If we are in fact to provide higher educa-

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tion, all Americans must understand more clearly than they do today that it is not higher because it leads to higher incomes. It is only higher if it helps raise life to levels above the barbaric and the animal and curbs the sheer lust for power, political, social, or economic, over our less fortunate fellows of whatever race or creed. We are sometimes told that the spirit of this education in the older humanities and liberal arts was too "narrow." It was in its purposes broader and deeper than much, perhaps most, of what is being taught in our colleges today. Nor could the *aims* of a higher educational system be more truly democratic nor more appropriate to our needs today when we are fighting to establish and maintain the rights of men everywhere and must look forward to realizing more fully the common destiny and common welfare of mankind. It is imperative that we maintain the *spirit* and *aims* of such education in the humanities and the liberal arts.

The Confusion in Higher Education

The almost hopeless confusion in our higher education and the so-called "decline of the humanities" does not spring then from any inadequacy in the general concept of higher education as understood by our forefathers. It springs from two sources: (1) the blind traditionalism of which we have spoken and (2) a crass materialism.

This blind traditionalism has done liberal education a great disservice in attempting to freeze the older, too limited program of studies. That older program had been far more successful than its opponents recognize. It had imbued many men in many lands with the love of disinterested learning and they had pushed forward "the frontiers of knowledge" into many new and fruitful fields of study, the languages, history, and literatures of many peoples, new fields and subdivisions in the sciences, and in the so-called social studies. Many of these subjects could and should have been included in the undergraduate program of the liberal arts college and pursued in its spirit. But our traditionalists too often fought not to preserve and strengthen the spirit and aims of humanistic education, but to preserve its details and their

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own prerogatives. The struggle to break down the "vested interests" in the old curriculum was often carried on with much bitterness and in the faculty wars that followed, even the spirit and aims of the older curriculum were lost sight of. The resultant curriculum often became only a chaos of disparate subjects, and the student was granted his diploma not when he had made the requisite progress toward the aims of liberal education but when he had amassed a set number of "units of credit."

This loss of any sense of purpose in the curriculum made it a simple matter for the materialistically minded to force into the course of study purely vocational subjects whose sole purpose it was to teach the techniques and skills which bring their possessor a larger money income. This perversion had reached its peak when colleges in the interest of enticing larger numbers began to publicize the increased money incomes which accrued to the holders of their diplomas.

This wave of disorganization had swept through our liberal arts colleges in the years of our complacency. For the past two decades not a few of our liberal arts colleges and many of our distinguished humanists have sought with success to bring back the liberal arts college to a sense of its humane and democratic function. They have tried to teach us that the benefits which the study of the humanities can give us are not to be measured in selfish materialistic terms and that no civilized man and no civilized nation can live unto itself alone. The goods which it is designed to provide for mankind are all goods that can be shared without loss — a deeper understanding of man's creative spirit, and insights into the nature and need of truth and justice. It would be fatal to hide from ourselves the fact that when we entered this war we had only begun to combat the results of this period of disintegration which had swept our colleges.

In the years of our security we had come to believe it would never again be necessary to fight for those principles of democracy which lie at the basis of our civilization. We allowed ourselves to be amused and distracted by the merely local, the transitory, the historically relative or unique and failed to inculcate in our undergraduates that deeper devotion to those

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pervasive and fundamental truths which alone can unite us. We have taught this generation to think too exclusively in terms of the temporary and above all in terms of nationalities, and it will now be called upon to make a peace in terms of the "United Nations" and the common interests of mankind. This criminal oversight we must correct.

At no time in our history had the subject matter of our disciplines been taught from such fundamentally inconsistent, such parochially nationalistic standpoints. This was so true that if in some so-called liberal arts colleges an intelligent senior attempted to pull together the substance of a dozen courses in the "humanities" and draw any general conclusion about human life and human nature it could only have been that norms of conduct, standards of good and evil, concepts like truth, justice, and beauty, could have no possible common denominator and are merely discreet and diverse products of time and geography. Not a few teachers of the "humanities" in many American colleges were proceeding along lines upon which nothing could be built except the revolutionary Nazi science of "geopolitics." That all this should have been true in an age that must find the basis for world peace in the extension of man's common interests should have given us pause long ago and in this interregnum for the liberal arts colleges which is now clearly upon us, the wise course for teachers generally is to reexamine their procedures and above all their presuppositions.

Since everything that the believer in liberal arts education holds dear would be swept away if we lost this war, our first duty then is clearly to do everything in our power, be willing to make every sacrifice, in order to win it. We cannot escape grave material losses. The best we can hope is that this crisis will bring us spiritual gains. If we "deserve well of the fatherland" we can hope for the support of public spirited citizens in a better postwar world.

It is a common but a grievous error to imagine that in emphasizing the search for central truth and the use of the larger, more significant frame of reference, we are in any way departing from American tradition. Our Declaration of Independence is

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there to shame and confute us. Members and supporters of Phi Beta Kappa well remember that the Declaration was written in the year when our Society was founded, and written by one who had himself been a student in the liberal arts college of William and Mary, to which we owe our foundation. It is precisely the sense for such central truth and the use of this larger reference that we recognize in the Declaration's inspiring phrases like "When in the course of human events," "the laws of nature and of nature's God," and "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." We have allowed ourselves to be told that all this is now outworn and old-fashioned. We must reaffirm with the poet that "Time which makes of new things old" leaves some old things new. These truths are among them.

In the meantime in this period when the humanities and social science faculties will have fewer students to teach, their energies can best be directed towards a systematic study of the adequacy of the present liberal arts college program to meet the needs of that postwar world. In the light of the many changes affecting the outlook of Americans, the college program needs to be restudied. No group is in a better position to make the study and to profit from it than these faculties. For the time being this remnant must be our hope.

The fundamental values of the liberal studies need to be rediscovered, redefined, and revitalized, if they are to survive and prosper. The Phi Beta Kappa Senate, therefore, recommends that member institutions give careful consideration to some plan for mobilizing faculty resources for an effective attack on this problem. Positive and aggressive action on the part of the liberal arts colleges is needed at this time particularly. It is in the tradition of Phi Beta Kappa that we should now be bending every effort to prepare young men to serve their country in this hour of her dire need. It is also our purpose while our young men are at war, to work toward that fuller and sounder course in the humanities which even after their tragic experience, will satisfy their deeper hungers for an abundant life and help them create for themselves and their country a less distracted world, a world worthier of their sacrifice.

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American Art—Is It Neglected?

Jerome Mellquist

SCHOLARSHIP in American art has no vitality. Academicians say that American art is a child not yet grown up and that it is not the province of august investigators to condescend to something lacking in maturity. This attitude is more common than one might suppose. If time is regarded in terms of the past, then the years of American art are short indeed and, by this token, scarcely justify any further attention. But since when has mere longevity been a criterion for the worth of a tradition? Roman sculpture dates back before the Christian era. Yet how often is it interesting? Those frozen busts in our high-school auditoriums — who cares even to think of them after leaving the schoolroom? No, if mere age is the criterion then the neglect of our art has certainly not been justified.

Almost equally common is the objection that our art is unimpressive, seldom above the ordinary and by no means comparable with that of other countries in the last century. Certainly one cannot assert equality with, let us say, the French achievement of the last 150 years. Everyone knows that France was the center of painting in the 19th century and that Paris more or less continued to be the international capital of painting until its capitulation to the Nazis. Yet, admitting the greatness of French work in the 19th century, we still have no excuse for disregarding our own. France had to make a beginning too. And when all her own pedants were descending into Italy and there finding the only compelling demonstrations of mastery, it was a native French landscapist like Claude Lorrain, for example, who already was producing the paintings which would help to construct the foundation of a great French tradition. Yet one supposes that investigators of that day still gazed at the lofty ceilings of St. Peter's and assumed that there only — or in the other masters of the Italian Renaissance — had the vision been incarnated.

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Seldom are scholars in touch with life. Undoubtedly the Lorrains could give us plenty of testimony on this point.

Again, can it be — as certain pamphleteers have said — that American art is only a commercial thing, a promotion of clever dealers who whip up the public fancy and then dispose of their stock while the selling is good? Undoubtedly this is true of some paintings and of considerable writing about them. Yet literature, the stage and poetry have their impresarios and our scholars do not show debility there. The venerable George C. Odell is still proceeding with his *Annals of the New York Stage* — which have reached only the 80's — and if ever an enterprise was a commercial one it is the Manhattan theater.

Is it then the academic process? Do we breed incompetents? Or is there insufficient attachment to our own tradition?

We do not have a single first-rate history of American art. The earliest, in point of effectiveness, was Dunlap's well-known *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, published a little over one hundred years ago. Old Dunlap sought to be a kind of Vasari, though perhaps too largely in the lesser arts. His account persists chiefly as a document. A generation later came the agreeable S. G. W. Benjamin's *Art in America*, issued in 1880. And then, in 1905, Samuel Isham presented his *History of American Painting*. Isham was a meritorious man — a painter, a National Academician, an adherent to established values and yet not a frozen die-hard. While nobody could be inspired by his book it is a good one of its kind — rather pedestrian but honest and informative. The rest scarcely count. In 1927 Royal Cortissoz, critic on the *New York Tribune*, was commissioned to revise Isham's volume. He merely added further chapters, and these without the illumination of the original volume. That same year Frank Jewett Mather contributed to the Yale Pageant of America his American Spirit in Art, a commendable series of well-organized thumbnail sketches on our various national arts from the beginning. But his assignment circumscribed him and he has never attempted anything more inclusive. Suzanne LaFollette's *Art in America* (1929) noted

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much but none of it thoroughly. Her book was more in the nature of a survey, as was the later one by Alfred H. Barr and Holger Cahill. And this is the last. No need to turn to Sadakichi Hartmann's two-volume work (1901) or the more painstaking tomes of the late Charles H. Caffin. One was too careless and the other did not have enough grip on the subject.

If we had no Cambridge History of American Literature would we not think it imperative to urge a body of our scholars to produce one? There has been no such urging for our art. Several years ago the College Art Association attempted to maintain a bibliography on living American artists. This is now defunct, however, and even while it was alive it was so inaccurate that often the dates or other items of information had to be rechecked. Some people may say the expense of such a history is too great. Yet we have an Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences and group histories from various institutions. Are we so apathetic as not to be able to start something of the sort in art? Don't we care?

Such an attitude suggests the trouble. We have always been a literary people. The early settlers and even their descendants of the 18th and 19th centuries were not a folk for whom the image carried meaning. Our country was settled by people who had in many cases been emancipated by the printing press. They had read the King James version of the Bible, they knew the constitutional writings of the 17th century and — later — they had imbibed the ideas of the French Enlightenment. Even with the rise of free public education, before the middle of the 19th century, the emphasis was upon the written or at the very least upon the spoken word. And certainly this has had much to do with the absence of a living impulse in our art scholarship. Returning again to literature, can one even imagine a 19th century without those peculiar, but steady, gleams from W. C. Brownell? Somehow they illuminated many of our own works. (Incidentally, while writing much on French art, Brownell seldom touched the American.) And can one picture an understanding of our literary achievements without those commanding searchlights of Vernon L. Parrington? We take such critics for granted, perhaps, and that is just the point. We can, because ours is a

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literary tradition and therefore we have been prepared to appreciate only a literary accomplishment.

Yet paradoxically in the last 150 years we have had a considerable, and sometimes a challenging, art. Even the French historians — notably Charles Blanc — have had to devote some pages to a Benjamin West. Yet our knowledge of him is confined for the most part to the schoolboy legend that he made his first paintbrush by pulling hairs out of a cat's tail. We sanctimoniously admit that Gilbert Stuart worthily celebrated the Father of his Country — though once that granite image is accepted we too easily forget that this bibulous artist did many another picture still worth looking at. Perhaps our early 19th century painters were provincial and slight and too reminiscent of European models. Yet by the middle of the century we had a whole school of native *genre* painters who are only now being appreciated again. They correspond to the Jacksonian period of American democracy. William Mount, for instance, pictured whittlers concluding a bargain over horses, boys invading a hayloft or boatmen spearing an eel. A sunny, quiet, agreeable America looked out from his paintings. And his contemporaries — the Missouri "boatman," George Caleb Bingham, and Richard Caton Woodville who enjoyed his newspaper-readers — also added to our knowledge of the manners of a rude but healthy time. Has anyone studied these and the other painters who with them comprise perhaps our first roughhewn originals? And why not? Don't they deserve as much attention as Carthaginian sarcophagus-lids or those other worthy objects which seem to occupy our scholars almost exclusively? Again, we had early landscapists, the so-called Hudson River School. Even granted that they were topical, stereoscopic and excessively panoramic, duller painters have been the subject of Ph.D. theses. Moreover with all their deficiencies the Hudson River School, even as Cooper, for instance, in our literature, collected the legends of a place, colored them and inscribed something living in the national consciousness. Not great artists themselves, such men can be the seedbed for a later flowering.

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So it was with these pioneer landscapists. Out of them sprouted our own Impressionists. At least three of these Impressionists, Theodore Robinson, Homer Martin, and John H. Twachtman, while addicted to the then-current French practices of pigmentation and color division, planted themselves in a landscape that had already been cultivated. Other eyes had made them ready to see. Thus Robinson strolled along a road, wooed by the sunshine and the leaf-patterns; Martin did pearly passages on the up-state New York landscape — passages which still suggest the forlorn and yet the lifted — and Twachtman delicately followed rivulets in Connecticut or painted lavender mists upon the snow at twilight. They were minor poets, perhaps, but refreshing and — as it has taken an international art authority, Lionello Venturi, to point out [1] — still too little known by their own people.

Some critics assume that our social painters are better known. This is not really so. Until 1934 no full-length study had been done on Thomas Eakins, the relentless Realist. After he was dismissed from the faculty of the Pennsylvania Academy in 1886 he lived secluded, at least so far as professorial attention was concerned. And as yet Mr. Lloyd Goodrich's is the only thorough study made of him. The eminent Winslow Homer — Civil War reporter, sportsman-depictor of the Adirondacks and Florida, celebrator of the difficult Maine Coast — and above all, innovator in the water-color — has not received a really devoted treatment since 1911. Even then, at the hands of William Howe Downes, the treatment was in many ways merely an extended obituary. No one has even attempted a serious biography of Albert Pinkham Ryder, mystic, confronter of the seas and capes, perhaps our greatest visionary in painting. The lesser men have been completely ignored.

Obscurity is not the reason for the neglect. Even the pompous Ruskin had to notice James McNeill Whistler. But Lewis Mumford, when he wrote *The Brown Decades*, devoted only two or three lines to him. What does it matter if Whistler was an

[1] In *Art Criticism Now*, a provocative volume from the Johns Hopkins University Press. It was originally composed as a series of lectures delivered at that institution.

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expatriate? So was Henry James yet our critics did not thus belittle him. Isn't the deficiency, in this case, rather in the critics? For Whistler was not only an *original;* he accomplished something in the etching which no other artist has ever achieved. We should acclaim him and more persistently seek the psychological basis for his voluntary exile. But dismissal — how can this be excused? Even our lesser expatriates and "importers" of the late 19th century — Arthur W. Dow, the puffy John Singer Sargent, that shiny peacock William Chase — need to be better understood. Certainly Chase, an influence in his time and even today (through his pupils), and Dow, founder of the Art Department at Teachers College, Columbia University, might well be studied by aspirants for art degrees.

The gaps and limitations in our art scholarship cannot be condoned by saying that we have no tradition. We have a tradition. It is over 150 years old and the part that I have already mentioned lies safely back in the 19th century or even the 18th, where scholars may successfully avoid the issues of contemporary life.

But investigation is even more needed in the field of the last forty to fifty years. Here, in fact, the wilderness is such that a critic seeking to compile a study must not only spade and rake but explore the very terrain as well. Take, as an instance, the question of our illustrators. Since Joseph Pennell did his inclusive study, *Pen Drawings and Pen Draughtsmen*, limited chiefly to phenomena preceding the beginning of this century, virtually nothing of consequence has been attempted. One may search through the libraries and find no extended critical commentary on Frederic R. Gruger who, at 73, has been for forty years the steadiest of our 20th century illustrators. There is no book on this period and not even (save for the present writer's chapter on the subject in his *Emergence of An American Art*) a connected account of the developments. In cartooning, fortunately, William Murrell with his two-volume *History of American Graphic Humor* has headed into the unknown and made it familiar to us. Thanks be to him! But no one has done the same for our excellent wood-engravers of the late 19th century. Many still remember the

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pertinent illustrations F. O. C. Darley contributed to the *Collected Works of James Fenimore Cooper* or Timothy Cole's meticulous yet free "interpretations" of the classics. Yet scholars have ignored them. Greece, China, Persia, the South Sea Islands — these entice. But why so little interest in the men of our own tradition?

Again, photography has seldom been considered a fine art. Yet who would not take a photograph by Alfred Stieglitz, by Edouard Steichen, by Paul Strand, in preference to much of what passes for painting? If a competent student of prints like Carl Zigrosser can treat such photographs as belonging to the graphic arts why cannot the professors do so? Are they all shut off from seeing?

And how about the 20th century movements in painting? When is somebody going to study our Abstract achievements? Granted it may be difficult: all the more reason, then, for clarification. Why is someone not preparing to show how John Sloan, George Luks, and Robert Henri — the counterparts to our muckrakers in literature — inevitably proceed from the earlier *genre* painters? Don't we have even an elementary interest in our own achievements? Again, an analysis of Know-Nothing schemes (like the present American Scene cult) calls for examination in terms of a comparable political movement in the 50's of the last century. But the academicians either write prefaces for the exhibitions of our Bentons, our Woods, and our Curries or else doze on, unaware that an almost identical zenophobia is at work.

In 1938, at the time of an American show in the Jeu de Paume, the French praised Charles Demuth, inimitable watercolor illustrator. They were amazed that an American had such delicacy, such *point*, such mordancy. Be sure that the French, if they had had such a man, would long ago have acclaimed him. And then our American aesthetes would no doubt have embraced him. But because he was just a Pennsylvanian he could be forgotten. And although the Museum of Modern Art published a catalogue about his neighbor, John Marin from New Jersey, Marin has not excited our literary commentators as many lesser artists among

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the French have excited their own literary men. In France there prevailed an enthusiasm that made every café sprout brochures for the vigorous or the prophetic in painting. A novelist would do a booklet on Toulouse-Lautrec, a literary man like Philippe Soupault would write a successful estimate of Henri Rousseau, countless littérateurs and feuilletonistes would blossom forth on a Picasso or a Maurice Utrillo. Something in the air of Paris made the literary men catch their breath when they looked at painting and then stand up for the artist in well-worded manifestoes. In this country it is an exception if a writer even looks at painting. Name over our literary critics, our novelists, and ask yourself how many have ever made a pertinent remark on the subject of art.

Asking, therefore, the question "American Art — Is It Neglected?" it is pretty clear that some major corrections are in order. Let us apply Emerson's confidence that the scholar can be a new type in America. Let us ask that he be vigorous and awake and receptive. Then other objectives — more departments in American art at the universities, better facilities for graduate study, increased parity for the subject itself — will come almost without our asking. The scholar will be alive because he is expected to be. He will be a champion and not merely a tiresome investigator. And as such he will help to bring forth new shoots which are only hiding till the day of such encouragement. This is the illuminating task that now calls to the scholar in American art.

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The Case for P. R.

George H. Hallett, Jr.

THE perils of dictatorship, whether by one man as in Germany or by a clique as in Japan, are being driven home to us all as never before.

The German government became a renewed menace, first to its own people and then to the world, only after the promising Weimar republic, founded at the close of the last World War, had been snuffed out. If the rest of the world had had the foresight to extend a friendly, helping hand to the struggling young republic instead of visiting on it the sins of the Kaiser and his advisers, the blood, sweat, and tears of the last terrible three and a half years might perhaps have been avoided.

But even as it was, Hitler never polled a majority in a free election. His highest vote and his highest share of representation in the Reichstag, before his dictatorship made elections a farce, were about 40 per cent of the whole. If even the defective form of proportional representation used under the republic had been allowed to continue to operate, there is no reason to suppose that he would ever have won a majority. He was already on the down grade in popular support when President von Hindenburg used his dangerously large powers unwisely and called on Hitler, his defeated opponent for the presidency, to form a government. After that things went from bad to worse, but it was only by persuading the more moderate Nationalists to join with the Nazis in throwing out the Communist deputies that Hitler finally got control of the Reichstag. Having thus secured an unwarranted majority of the deputies that were left, the Nazis used it to throw out all the rest of their opponents, including the Nationalists who had been duped into putting them in a position to do it. In this case the denial of representation to even the most hated of minorities brought an immediate denial of majority rule and established the most dangerous dictatorship of modern times.

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Every Majority Is Composed of Minorities

Minority representation is always the *sine qua non* of real majority control. This is one of the most vital facts of government and one of the least understood. It is a matter of simple arithmetic. Suppose, to take a simplified example, there are only two parties and the voters divide on strict party lines. Party A has about 60 per cent of all the voters in each district and Party B, 40 per cent. Party A elects all the representatives. If the supporters of each party agreed on everything important, that would insure majority rule, but of course they don't — some issues have had to be submerged in making the majority choice. Now suppose an important issue comes up on which one-third of Party A agrees with all of Party B. One-third of Party A is 20 per cent of the whole. Add this 20 per cent to the 40 per cent behind Party B and it makes a 60 per cent majority of the voters. Yet even if the minority within Party A is fairly represented in the party delegation elected, this 60 per cent majority will be defeated in the so-called representative body. The Party B minority, which is a necessary part of the 60 per cent majority, is not represented.

Instances of this frustration of popular wishes because of the neglect of minorities in forming representative bodies can be found on every hand. To cite one of the most important, it may well be doubted that the United States would have withdrawn from world affairs at the close of the last war if the large number of Republicans, like former President Taft who ardently believed in the necessity of world organization, had been fairly represented in the Republican delegation in the United States Senate.

"Majority" Elections Bring Minority Rule

It happens not infrequently that a minority party wins a majority of the seats simply because its votes are so situated as to give it a majority or a plurality of the votes in a majority of the districts, while the minorities in all districts are disregarded.

To take a simple example again, suppose there are five districts each with 1,000 votes, making a total of 5,000 divided between two parties. A has 3,000 and so should reasonably elect three of

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the five, and B has 2,000. But the votes are distributed as follows: Districts I, II, and III, A 400, B 600 in each; Districts IV and V, A 900, B 100 in each. The A Party majority elects two, the B minority three. If exactly the same voters had been distributed differently by districts, for example A 600, B 400 in each of the five, Party A would have elected all five. Can we afford to base democracy on so large an element of chance — if not deliberate gerrymandering?

Usually the right party comes out on top, but with more than its share, and groups within parties are distorted so that there is little correspondence between what is done and what the people want on many major issues.

If there happen to be three or more tickets, the likelihood of distortion is still greater. A minority may elect a majority or all of the representatives even if the election is at large.

When the people of Schenectady, having adopted a new city manager plan of government a few years ago, came to elect the city council which was to choose the first city manager and control the new city government, they divided into three camps — a Republican, a Democratic, and an independent Charter League including many citizens of both parties who were anxious to see the new government work well. Each ticket polled about a third of the votes. The Republicans, with slightly more than a third, elected six of the seven. The Democrats got one and the Charter League none. When it came to deciding the vital issue of continuing Republican spoils politics under the new government, which nearly two-thirds of the voters had declared against, the remaining one-third was in a position to impose its will.

Because of such experiences independent good government groups like the Charter League usually do not venture to present candidates of their own. Occasionally they contest the primary of the majority party, but there the same thing may happen to them. Deprived of part of their strength — those of their number who are not enrolled in the majority party and those who do not turn out for the primary contests — they may find themselves in a minority in the majority party primary and get no more representation than if they had run a separate ticket.

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So what they usually do is to sit back and let the party manipulators of both parties pick the candidates and then vote for the ones who seem best. This is worth something, for it stimulates the parties to put up candidates with some merit and popular appeal, but it is far from real popular control. Usually the candidates on both sides accept the idea of party spoils first and public service afterward. To the extent that this is true whoever wins, the people lose. There are few places where party patronage is really desired by a majority of the people, but the mechanism of elections is such that they do not know how to get rid of it.

This is no minor evil. One has only to mention such names as Tweed, Hague, Vare, and Pendergast to realize the depths of degradation to which democracy has fallen from time to time in some of our big cities, where the spoils are most profitable, or Senators Penrose and Long and Ambassador-designate Flynn to realize the extent to which these cancer spots have infected even our national government and our international relations. Congressmen who still spend part of their time thinking of pork barrels while the world is aflame are among the natural results.

Boss Rule Can Be Avoided

Many have accepted these things cynically as necessary evils of self-government, and Axis spokesmen have harped on them to try to prove the decadence of democracy. But there is ample evidence to indicate that this is not the sort of thing the American people want, that what is needed is more democracy, a change in the machinery of elections so that what the people want they can easily get.

The cities that are using proportional representation — Cincinnati, Toledo, Hamilton, Boulder, Wheeling, Cambridge, Yonkers, and New York — are clearly today among the best-governed cities in the country, and those that are faring best are those where the representative council is given most power to control. All the cities mentioned except New York have the city manager plan of government under which the council chooses the chief executive and can replace him at any time.

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Representation of All the People

Proportional representation — or "P. R." as it is usually called in these alphabetical days — strikes at the root defect of the so-called majority systems of election by assuring due representation to minorities, minority parties, minorities within parties, and independent minorities that do not wish to be represented on party lines. Thereby it comes much closer to guaranteeing real majority rule.

Perfect representation is possible only in such an assembly as the old New England town meeting, where every person represents himself, and even a minority of one can be heard. When everyone is present you have real majority rule, for all the minorities that make up each different majority on different questions are there to be counted.

As soon as you condense the voters into a smaller number of representatives, as is necessary for most governmental decisions, you necessarily lose some of the fine shadings of popular preference and opinion. But that is no excuse for disregarding the true make-up of the whole electorate and giving a monopoly of representation to the largest organized group.

The representative body can be made to reflect the electorate as nearly as possible in its true proportions. To quote Mirabeau: "A representative body is to the nation what a chart is for the physical configuration of its soil: in all its parts, and as a whole, the representative body should at all times present a reduced picture of the people — their opinions, aspirations, and wishes, and that presentation should bear the relative proportion to the original precisely as a map brings before us mountains and dales, rivers and lakes, forests and plains, cities and towns. The finer should not be crushed out by the more massive substance, and the latter should not be excluded; the value of each element is dependent upon its importance to the whole and for the whole." That, so far as the degree of condensation will permit, is the aim and the result of the best system of proportional representation as used in American and Canadian P. R. cities and all of southern Ireland.

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The Case of Cincinnati

That this is no mere beautiful ideal without practical value could be illustrated at length from the recent history of any of the cities mentioned above. One of the most instructive cases is that of Cincinnati, which for most of forty years under the sway of bosses Cox and Hynicka was notorious among misgoverned cities and which for eighteen years now under its P. R. manager charter has stood out as an inspiring example of efficient, economical, and serviceable democracy.

At the last election under the so-called majority plan in 1921, the Republican organization under Rud Hynicka elected 31 councilmen out of 32, all six of those elected at large and 25 of the 26 elected by wards. The framers of the new charter which was adopted in 1924 by petition and popular vote over the strenuous opposition of the machine put P. R. in it in order to get the benefit of some minority representation which could turn the light on whatever the majority did. To their surprise they found that what looked like an overwhelming majority, as reflected in the last old-plan council, was not a majority at all. With all its special favors and elaborate organization, the machine represented only about one-third of the whole electorate. That had been enough to control the Republican primaries. And when it came to choosing in the final election between Republican spoilsmen and little-known Democrats whom they suspected of being no better, the people had followed their preference in national politics and voted Republican.

That this was what had been happening was made clear in the first P. R. election. Then there was no primary to divide good-government Republicans, good-government Democrats, and good-government independents or absentees into separate camps in the original choice of candidates. Every one who could get 500 separate signers to a petition could get on the ballot. And in the final election the voters had a free choice among all the candidates without fear of throwing their votes away, for they had second, third, and further choices on a preferential ballot to fall back on if their first choices failed to get even the minority of votes

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necessary to win. The rules of the count made it possible for any ninth of the voters to elect one of the nine councilmen and any larger group to win more in proportion.

The result was an eye opener to the most sanguine. The formerly dominant machine, with its one-third of the votes, had just enough to fill three of the nine quotas and elect three of the nine councilmen. Four places went to independent Republicans of varied backgrounds — attorney Murray Seasongood, leader of the reform movement, a financial expert, an engineer and business man, and the president of a labor union. The other two places went to the minority party, the Democrats. The independent Republicans and the Democrats worked together in a City Charter Committee coalition. They appointed a competent army engineer, Colonel Clarence O. Sherrill, as city manager and in a few short months they and he transformed the city.

Now, eighteen years later, Colonel Sherrill is still city manager, after an interlude of years when he was in private business and C. A. Dykstra, now president of the University of Wisconsin, served with distinction. The local Republican party, purged of the worst of its old control, gradually rehabilitated itself and now has a majority of five out of nine on the city council; but it is a very different majority from the 31 out of 32 in the last days of the old regime, and many questions are decided without regard to party lines, with able Republican organization councilmen like Willis Gradison and Charter Committee councilmen like Charles P. Taft, son of the late President, working harmoniously together much of the time. The city is still among the best governed in the world, while its financial position and the situation of its taxpayers have constantly improved.

P. R. in New York

Each of the other P. R. cities has a story to tell. Even in New York, where the council has been given too little power and has consequently received too little attention from the voters to get the best results, its civic benefits have been a cause for real thankfulness to those of us who have worked for the government's improvement under both systems. The Democratic organizations

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have remained in control of the Council as they have of the city delegation in the Legislature and most of the courts and county offices all through the LaGuardia regime; but after the elections under P. R. there has always been a vigorous minority of one-third or more on the Council, whereas there had never been any such proportion of opposition members since 1919 in the old Board of Aldermen, and once the Tammany majority of aldermen went up to 64 out of 65. Under P. R. some of the best councilmen, such as the present minority leader, Mrs. Genevieve B. Earle, have been elected without national party backing of any kind.

The value of this new minority representation was illustrated in the first P. R. council when the majority party thought to deflate the popular demand for county reform by bringing forward a plan of its own cleverly devised to keep all of the county patronage intact. The plan was introduced by the majority leader, but it was too much for some of the best of the Democrats to stomach. In the old days the protesting Democrats could have been brushed aside, for the majority in the Board of Aldermen was so overwhelming that any little group could be disregarded. But now the opposition groups were fully represented and they were a unit against the Democratic plan. The protesting Democrats raised the opposition on this issue to a majority and when the plan came to a vote it was snowed under. Subsequently a real reform of county government was effected by petition and popular vote.

The People Want Good Government

The experience of all our P. R. cities has shown such a vast improvement over what went before that we can now be sure the American people do not deserve the type of misgovernment they often get. The prescription not only for genuine self-government but for good government appears to be proportional representation in the election of the representative body plus control of the government by the representative body plus interested citizen activity, such as usually appears when it is given encouragement to take advantage of the opportunities thus presented.

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There are those who would have us believe that our people are not to be trusted with proportional representation, that if minorities are given a chance to get the sort of representation they really want they will run off in all directions after all sorts of false gods. The theory is that majority elections force them to compromise and strike a happy mean which will be better for the common good. Everyone is supposed to be represented by the persons so elected whether he voted for them or not.

This sounds dangerously like the Hitler justification of throwing out first the Communists and then other dissidents and forcing national unity by forcing everyone into the National Socialist party.

As a matter of fact the result of disregarding minorities in election returns has often been the creation of a one-party system rather than the two-party system which adherents of majority elections are wont to eulogize. We have only to think of the solid Democratic South or the unanimous Republican council for twenty years without interruption until recently in the city of Philadelphia. There is, to be sure, a gulf which separates even the worst of our American political despotisms from the despotism of Adolf Hitler, but the gulf is neither as wide nor as deep as most of us would like to see it.

The forced compromise theory is essentially one of disbelief in democracy. It is based on the idea that the people do not know what is good for them. To be sure, the people will sometimes make mistakes. Democracy assumes their right to make mistakes and to learn by experience. If we have any confidence in the ability of people as individuals to cooperate for the good of the whole in the various duties of citizenship, why should we despair of the same ability in the representatives who can most accurately represent them in all their variety and yet essential unity of interest?

The actual experience with proportional representation, both in this country and abroad, shows that we have no need to distrust the people. When given a free hand they usually do better than might generally be supposed possible by most people.

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Experience Abroad

There are those who would have us believe that P. R. as used formerly in Germany and for three short years in Italy was responsible for the breakdown of democracy in those countries by producing conflicting parliamentary blocs that could not possibly work together. But the many-party system was present in both countries before the advent of P. R. and it was just as aggravated in France which never had P. R. The storms blowing around and through both countries would have tried even more experienced democracies. The devices that other countries have used successfully to adapt a many-party situation to efficient government were not tried and the various democratic leaders did not assume their proper shares of responsibility. Yet there is strong reason to believe that P. R. did about all that an election system by itself could do to save the day by giving full representation to the small moderate middle parties and avoiding the division of the whole country between two irreconcilable groups that developed in Spain. P. R. was recognized as an enemy by both Hitler and Mussolini and they took prompt steps to abolish it.

That a breakdown of democracy and inefficient government are not the natural fruits of P. R. is fully demonstrated by the fact that at the outbreak of the war proportional systems of election had been used for national elections for over twenty years in most of the successful democracies of Europe. These included Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and the Irish Free State (now Eire), the only one that has the best form of P. R., which is used exclusively in English-speaking countries.

The British Parliament, which has not yet adopted P. R. for most of its own elections, has thought well enough of it to prescribe it years ago for Ireland and Malta, to include it in all recent self-government plans for India (where it is widely accepted by the Indians themselves), and even to introduce it as an experiment for eleven of its own members representing the universities. Churchill has long advocated it for other parliamentary elections.

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Eire and the Australian province of Tasmania, which has elected its legislature by the best form of P. R. continuously since 1907, both have large one-party majorities in their principal legislative bodies. This has been a development under P. R. while neighboring states without P. R. had no party in a majority! P. R. will not guarantee a two-party system, for it will reflect just what the people want; but other things being equal most people prefer to belong to a large and powerful group, and once the party leaders recognize that under P. R. they have to respect popular wishes a voluntary two-party system may result. There is enough sentiment for the two-party system in the United States to expect a close approach to it here — not necessarily on traditional Republican-Democratic lines.

P. R. Is Popular Here

But we do not have to rely on experience abroad for the justification of P. R. There have now been sixty-six public elections under it in the United States. Where it has been tried the people like it. Political forces that lost power through its adoption have brought no less than twenty-five referenda to repeal it at the polls after its adoption, one or more in nearly every P. R. city, and in only two have they been successful. The one notable repeal was in the city of Cleveland, where several attacks were repulsed and the successful repeal in 1931 was combined with an extensive charter revision, with the issues badly mixed. Cleveland has since cast a larger majority in favor of a county charter (thrown out by a technical court decision) based on a P. R. council and the county manager plan.

P. R. Fulfills American Democracy

After all, P. R. is merely a more perfect expression of fundamental American ideals. Taxation without representation is no less tyranny when applied to political minorities than to geographical areas. The early change in Congressional elections to single-member districts from majority election at large in some states was for the expressed purpose of giving more representation to minorities. Even approximate equality in voting

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power is impossible without P. R. Majority rule requires it. The sooner we can get it generally adopted the sooner shall we be free from the hopeless cynicism which besets our citizens in many machine-ridden cities and the sooner will all our fellow-Americans feel that they have a real part in their own government.

When P. R. was first used in New York City it gave representation on the city council to half a million more voters than had ever been able to elect anyone in the old Board of Aldermen. Even if this had not resulted in improved government, as it has, it would have been worth while because of the new sense of participation it has given to a full quarter of the City's electorate. Two Tammany attempts to repeal P. R. have been overwhelmingly repulsed at the polls.

In Cooperation There Is Strength

When we want very much to make any community enterprise a success, we deliberately try to enlist all elements in the community in its operation. A community fund drive or a civilian defense organization draws its committees from as many groups as possible so that everyone will feel that he has a share. Is there any less reason to cultivate cooperation in the great community enterprise of government? Is there any reason why we should stage a fight to decide which group shall get all the control and leave everyone else on the outside?

In these complex days we need the best brains of all groups. We should not throw out our Senator Norrises just because they lose a majority in the particular districts they happen to contest. And we need in our political life the unity of purpose that comes not from acquiescence to superior political force or goose-step obedience without understanding or discussion, but from the open interchange of ideas, even if it sometimes grows acrimonious, and the active cooperation of free men sharing equally in the achievement of our common destiny.

This is going to be fearfully important in the world organization that must follow the war if we do not want international anarchy and banditry all over again. We need to represent not only the separate nations but groups of thought within nations.

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If we do this the divisions will not generally follow national lines and we shall come to think of ourselves as citizens of the world with spiritual allies in all countries. If we do not, every division will be one group of nations against another, with a constant tendency to fly apart. A committee of the United States Senate once gave its considered judgment that the Civil War might have been avoided if the more moderate minorities both in the North and in the South had been properly represented in Congress.

All democratic government, international, national, state, or local, is based on elections. The machinery of elections can either bring citizens together in a common enterprise or it can drive them apart, bringing bitterness, cynicism, and a sense of exclusion. The Reverend Canon Luce, professor of moral philosophy at Trinity College, Dublin, has summed up the effect of proportional representation in Ireland in these words:

"P. R. has been a healing force in our midst. Old political feuds are dying; public spirit is replacing faction. Our elections are well conducted. The voice of reason is heard, and the gun is silent. P. R. deserves much of the credit; for P. R. produces contented and loyal minorities, whereas the other system breeds muzzled, sullen, discontented minorities, predisposed to doctrines of violence. P. R. has been a unifying force and unity is strength."

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The Case Against P. R.

F. A. Hermens

PROPORTIONAL Representation is recommended as an ideal device for the "perfection of democracy." Its proponents believe in the representation of minorities, but they are apt to forget that in a democracy there is the equally important task of representing the majority. Admittedly, without a majority a democracy cannot act, and it may fall into a state of near anarchy from which some "Duce" or "Fuehrer" will then be happy to "save" it in the name of "order." It should be obvious that if we want a majority we had better use a system of voting which invites the people to give us one. As its name indicates, the majority system is calculated to do just that. P. R. does the opposite. By its very nature it asks for minorities, and ultimately it may produce so many minorities that no majority is left.

The majority system provides for majorities by making it impossible to succeed without them. In this country, for example, no candidate for elective office is certain of success unless he is able to win more than 50 per cent of the voters to his side. We are seldom aware of the implications of this process. It means that the candidate has to find a common denominator for members of many minority groups. He will encounter Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, businessmen, farmers, and workers, voters of all kinds of racial descent and of a considerable variety of political opinions. The many matters on which these voters disagree are evident, but our candidate will play such points down and emphasize instead those on which his potential supporters agree. What he does in one district, candidates with similar views will do in others, and it is but normal for them to unite in a political party. Also, since no more than two parties can ever get close to having a majority in any one country, a tendency toward a two-party system is a natural concomitant of

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the majority system. To be sure, differences in the various parts of a country may be so great that the tendency toward a two-party system is frustrated. In this case, however, related parties will tend to fight an electoral campaign together, and instead of a system of two parties we get a system of two blocs, which in most instances will be able to provide for a majority in a reasonably satisfactory manner.

P. R. ignores the vital need of securing unity of political action. As President Gideonse of Brooklyn College has put it: Instead of promoting "consensus" it makes elections a "census." The object of this "census" is the statistical enumeration of all the elements of differentiation, of which there are always enough to break up any majority which might be in existence at a given time. The success of this tendency will make government both undemocratic and inefficient. Government becomes undemocratic because the formation of majorities is no longer a task performed by the people themselves. It is entrusted to their "representatives," who will try to solve this problem in a process of bargaining, log-rolling, and mutual "backscratching." Actually, agreement may not be reached at all. During the elections the emphasis is placed upon those points on which the people disagree; such emphasis encourages a veritable cult of these differences, which are easily elevated to the dignity of "isms." When this stage is reached, cooperation becomes difficult, and is actually looked upon as treasonable. Prolonged stalemates, if not a complete political paralysis, are the result.

Before we proceed, two objections must be discussed. The first of them need not preoccupy us if the supporters of P. R. were still stating their aims as frankly as they did before they were confronted with an intensification of scientific criticism. Writing in the 1870's, Josiah Phillips Quincy said: "I have found . . . that our American advocates of minority representation are apt to make admissions which discredit their remedy." [1] At that time most supporters of P. R. could easily have been induced to express agreement with Thomas Hare, who had this to say of the system of voting now known by his name: "Many

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more candidates will be everywhere put in nomination . . . minorities will far exceed the entire number of any minorities now existing, by the operation of numberless affinities and compulsions, which, in a state of liberation, will dissolve the present majorities."[2] However, at the present time, supporters of P. R. prefer to say that their system of voting will give representation not only to minorities but also to any majority which might exist. Strangely enough, even now this argument is associated with others which destroy much of the force it might have. Messrs. Hoag and Hallett, for example, in the American standard work on P. R., express the opinion that a number of modern developments "have made the two major parties in most places insufficient for the expression of the people's varied interests and wishes."[3] Also, Mr. Hallett has often emphasized the "New Freedom" which P. R. is supposed to give to the voter. What does this "New Freedom" mean if not an invitation to the voter to break away from the "artificial" system of two parties and to line himself up in "more natural" — and more numerous! — groups based upon a varied assortment of motives? Furthermore, the history of the American (or English, for that matter) party system shows that under P. R. the two-party system would long have been a matter of the past.

Consider only the Republican split of 1912. The difference in opinions which it revealed was great, and at the time many of those involved thought the cleavage could never be healed. Yet, as early as 1916 a common candidate for the presidency was presented, who came close to success. The reason is simple. The plurality system left only the alternative of unity or defeat, and so unity was chosen. Under P. R. each group would have elected members of Congress with its own votes, and not only would these two parts of the Republican party have gone their separate ways, but the Democratic party, which contains within itself as many differences as does the G.O.P., would probably have suffered the same fate. Majority government would have disappeared from the operations of Congress.

It has also been said that the above analysis of the practice upon which our "representative republic" has been based since

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its foundation implies a "philosophy of unity by compulsion." Actually, there is nothing behind our system of voting but a recognition of the need for clarity, and for an expression of democracy. If a majority must be found eventually, and if compromises are necessary for this purpose, it is preferable to bring this need home to the people themselves, and, as mentioned above, it is certainly more democratic that they themselves make the compromises than that this task be left to their elected representatives!

Last but not least, it is evident that the interests of minorities are in no way disregarded by the workings of the majority system. As Thomas Woodlock has put it: "Democracy is the protection of minorities by the rule of the majority." If supporters of P. R. fail to understand this, it only goes to show that they fail to understand the nature of the democratic process. As it has been said before: Government by majority is government by persuasion. Members of many a minority group must be persuaded that it is to their best interest to support a certain candidate if he has a majority, and it need not be repeated that bringing members of all minority groups together for the sake of common political action is the best way of securing the rights of all.

Before dealing with the effects which P. R. has had in practice it is good to recall what such a superb analyst of British politics as Walter Bagehot had to say about the inevitable results of the application of the Hare system of P. R. in his own country: ". . . the mass of a Parliament ought to be men of moderate sentiments, or they will elect an immoderate ministry, and enact violent laws. But upon the plan suggested [P. R.], the House would be made up of party politicians selected by a party committee, chained to that committee and pledged to party violence, and of characteristic, and therefore immoderate representatives, for every 'ism' in all England. Instead of a deliberate assembly of moderate and judicious men, we should have a various compound of all sorts of violence."[4] Bagehot's arguments were subsequently rounded out from the point of view of the continental theory of public law, by Esmein in France, Orlando and Salandra in Italy, Bernatzik in Austria, and Hilty in Switzerland.

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If supporters of P. R. would take the trouble to study the writings of these men, they would find that not a single one of their arguments has remained unanswered, and not a single one of their objections has remained unanticipated.

Italy was the first country to experience the results of P. R. on a large scale. When, in the summer of 1919, P. R. was about to be adopted, the deputy Alessio expressed himself concerning its likely results as follows: "Now what is the effect of P. R.? To create, not a majority but a union of minorities, often incompatible with one another, their ideas in mutual contradiction. . . . The application of this system under present conditions would provoke a very bad functioning of the Chamber, would make it impossible to form a lasting cabinet, and would in the long run bring about the paralysis of public life." Signor Alessio went into considerable detail and predicted that paralysis would come about because the two large parties of the Socialist and the Catholics would not find a satisfactory basis of cooperation, either with one another, or with the "democratic" and "liberal" groups of the Center and the moderate Right. This is exactly what happened.

"Paralysis" was in the air the very day the first P. R. Chamber met. Nitti, under whom P. R. had been adopted, was left in power only because there was no one who could have succeeded him. When after several months of struggling along he finally resigned, the Chamber had to have recourse to Giolitti, then 78 years old, in spite of the boast made before its adoption that P. R. would lead to a rejuvenation of political leadership. Giolitti's method of government in the past had been called "rimpasto" — he had molded and remolded the various factions of the Chamber into a majority as a baker kneads and rekneads his dough to make a loaf. The rigid P. R. parties did not lend themselves to such treatment, however, and they added the weapons of obstruction to those of opposition. Giolitti became desperate enough to dissolve the parliament and turn to the Fascists, hoping that their strong arm methods would make the Socialists and the Catholics more tractable. In the new Chamber, however, matters only went from bad to worse. There were thirty-five Fascists and

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fifteen Communists, none of whom could have been elected under the majority system. The Socialists had lost but little, and the Catholics actually gained. Giolitti gave up and resigned. His successor Bonomi could do nothing but tell the extremists, who had begun a private civil war all over the country, to be peaceable and surrender their arms, which, of course, they had no intention of doing. February 1922 saw the end of Bonomi. For three weeks no new government could be formed, and in the end Facta was made Prime Minister, for no other reason but that he was so inoffensive that no one was afraid of any authority he might assume. The civil war was intensified; under the leadership of Balbo and Grandi, then young men in their twenties, the Fascists began to defy public authority on a large scale by occupying entire cities. In June Facta resigned, only to be returned to his position after several weeks of renewed negotiations.

By the fall of 1922 the demoralizing effects of this situation had reached their peak. As one writer put it: "Meanwhile the press and public opinion were becoming daily more exasperated, until by fall parliament had hardly a single friend in the country. The members themselves were disgusted with each other and the King was weary of selecting impossible Prime Ministers."[5] Mussolini was able to shout: "With this Parliament thirty crises could only result in thirty Factas."[6] Small wonder that the Fascists found it easy to topple over what was falling under its own weight. The "March on Rome" was indeed the comedy which Professor Salvemini has described, but Italian government, then hardly existent, was so ineffective that it was unable to defend itself against even so slight a danger.

Mussolini's subsequent success was to serve as an inspiration and as a model for a host of dictators to come. Hitler was, of course, the most important of them. His debt to P. R. is even clearer than that of Mussolini. For years the Nazi party was pitifully small and weak, and it could hardly have been expected to survive the blows which the voters would have struck at it under a majority system. On the factual background of this there is agreement. Messrs. Hoag and Hallett, the leaders of the American P. R. movement, have this to say on the matter: "We do not

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doubt that the rise of new parties, extreme as well as moderate, is often facilitated by P. R. In Germany in the P. R. election of May 4, 1924, the 'New Freedom Party' of General Ludendorff (Hitler's party) which could have scarcely made a creditable showing under a majority system, elected thirty-two members of the Reichstag. In the same election, the larger Communist minority elected sixty-two."[7] It is admitted, therefore, that under a majority system the Nazis would in 1924 (the peak of their pre-depression strength) have suffered the same wholesale failure that Mosley's Fascists did in the House of Commons elections of 1931 and in local elections in later years. However, Messrs. Hoag and Hallett continue: "We do not regard the just representation of such parties as a disadvantage. . . . Sometimes extremists are needed to expose existing wrongs. . . . The just representation of an extreme party also has a wholesome reaction on the party itself: it tends to make the party less bitter and more responsible."[8] History, of course, informs us that if the Nazis exposed existing evils, they also magnified them in the most reckless fashion, thereby increasing as well as exposing them, and that their destructive capacity grew in direct proportion to their strength in German parliaments.

Can it be said that if the Nazis had met with wholesale defeat at the polls every time they tried their luck they would only have been "driven underground" and reacted by preparing for direct revolution? This was what the Republicans hoped and prayed for in later years when they hardly knew of any other device for getting rid of the Nazis. After all, Hitler did try insurrection — the famous beerhall "putsch" of November 9, 1923, which only landed him in jail and exposed him to ridicule. There was no doubt that a repetition of this venture would have had the same result.

For these reasons it must be concluded that continued electoral defeat would have so discredited and demoralized the Nazi party that its very survival would have been doubtful. Nazi voters value nothing as much as success; they are not of a type that is willing to "throw away" their votes in one election after another. Yet, it is interesting to see that even in the elections of September

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1930 the power of the combined radicals of the Right and of the Left was still in the main due to P. R. The miseries of the depression were, of course, made to order for the Communists as well as for the Nazi demagogues; the former obtained 4.2 million votes, and the latter 6.4 million. The 107 Nazis, 70 Communists, and 40 Nationalists in the Reichstag could be relied upon to vote together to make any normal government impossible. Yet, it is interesting to note that if we divide the territory of the Reich into 400 single-member constituencies of about equal size, the Nazis did not secure as much as 40 per cent of the total vote in any one of them, and the Communists, who had the advantage of possessing some local strongholds, only in three. A detailed examination of the results would indicate that no matter what assumption we make about the variations of the majority system that might have been applied, the chances of the extremists would have been small and the two leading moderate parties — Social Democrats and Center Party — would have been sure of a safe majority. To explain in terms of American political experience what might have happened to Hitler under the majority system, let us refer to the fact that the 18.3 per cent of the total vote which Hitler secured in September 1930 is about equal to the 16.2 per cent of the total vote received by LaFollette in 1924, in particular if we consider that American legislation (of a kind that is unthinkable under P. R.) barred the Progressive ticket from the ballot in several states. Under the majority system, LaFollette secured only the electors from Wisconsin, equal to 2.4 per cent of the total. His coalition began to disintegrate the day after the result was known, and his voters were reabsorbed by the two-party system without any apparent friction. Hitler, however, obtained his full percentage of seats in the Reichstag; so did the Communists and the Nationalists, and in little more than two years Hitler was the master of Germany!

Subsequent German history was one of intrigues. Schleicher and Papen overthrew Brüning; Schleicher overthrew Papen, and Papen joined hands with Hitler to overthrow Schleicher; then Hitler either terrorized into submission, or killed, everyone else who stood in his way. It is easy to pay too much attention to

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the melodramatic details of these events. There are intrigues and intriguers everywhere and at all times, but normally there is a government which is strong enough to check them. Nor should we be over-impressed by the presence of Army officers and members of the Junkers among the intriguers. Where else should we expect them to be? Any newly established democracy will, for some time, have to contend with the attempts at reaction made by the beneficiaries of the old regime. In France two Republics succumbed before the Third Republic was able to maintain itself for a couple of generations. The French Republicans had to overcome the Boulangists in the 1890's, the combined conspiracies at the turn of the century, and the assault of the various Fascist groups during the latter years of the Great Depression. In spite of such victories the Third Republic was weaker than it should have been. The cabinet could not use the power to dissolve the Chamber, which means that an essential feature was lacking in the machinery of the parliamentary system.[9] As Dr. Simon has added, the second ballot was used in such a way as to produce part of the results characteristic of P. R.[10] Still, there was enough left of the operations of the majority system to make it possible to administer to the foes of the Republic a stinging defeat every time they tried their luck at the polls, and even the elections of 1936 represented a resounding victory for the Republic. Military defeat was the only event which could give the reactionaries their chance!

If space permitted, it could be demonstrated in detail how strongly P. R. contributed to the collapse of democracy in countries like Austria, Poland, the Baltic States, and Greece. In Belgium P. R. produced what Edgar Ansel Mowrer called a "semi-paralysis" of her legislative bodies; in The Netherlands conditions were less dramatic, but not much more satisfactory. So far as Ireland is concerned, Professor James Hogan had this to say, referring to the conditions in the 1920's, when only the abstention of deValera's followers from seating themselves in the Dáil made it possible to have any majority: "We can thank our lucky stars that P. R. did not get the chance of plunging the country into Mexican politics, perhaps for a generation."[11]

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Subsequently, Ireland has severely restricted the most essential feature of P. R. — the proportionality between votes cast and seats received — by introducing a number of small constituencies, in which small parties have almost as little chance as they have under the majority system. The P. R. laws in Switzerland and in the Scandinavian countries have similar features; in all of these countries P. R. has nonetheless demonstrated some of its characteristic drawbacks, at times in such a way as to produce serious turmoil and confusion.

Little need be added about the results we could expect from P. R. if it were applied in the United States. Representative Lea proposed that in the several states presidential electors be apportioned to candidates in proportion to the votes received; Representative Teigan introduced a bill providing for P. R. in congressional elections. Both bills would lead to a great increase in the vote cast for the minor parties, whose followers then no longer would be afraid of "throwing their votes away," and, as mentioned above, the result, in the long run, would be the destruction of the two-party system — which, of course, is the reason why our minor parties are all so actively behind the agitation for P. R., the Communists as well as the Socialists, the American Labor party and the Progressives. As soon as no candidate for the presidency would have a majority in the electoral college there could, of course (barring an amendment of the Constitution), no longer be a popular election of the president, and how a president lacking the prestige of popular election would manage to get along with a congress filled with an assortment of P. R. parties only heaven knows.

Since it has so far been unable to penetrate the fields of state and national government, the American P. R. movement has concentrated its efforts on local government. There is no intrinsic reason for this; if the basic premises of P. R. are right, it could do more good in the wider fields of national and state government than it could in local government. However, while the national leaders of the American P. R. movement have never given up their efforts in regard to state and national government, they have, ever since the popularity of the city manager plan became

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apparent, preferred to benefit from its success. The combination is rather incongruous. The city manager plan is the essence of simplicity, and the Hare system of P. R. is bound up with complications which defeat the wishes of many a voter, even though the P. R. ballot is not always four feet long, as it was in the Brooklyn elections of 1937. In Brooklyn at that time 31 per cent of the voters failed to make their votes count, and there is agreement upon the point that the casualties were principally suffered by the more loosely organized Fusionists, whereas the well-drilled machine vote was cast with a high degree of efficiency. Furthermore, the city manager plan is similar to the parliamentary system of government in that the manager needs the support of a council majority in order to continue in office. P. R. is anything but a suitable device to assure such majorities, and it has repeatedly produced deadlocks. The American voter seems to have been aware of this; of the more than 500 cities which have the manager plan only eight use P. R. It would be hard to demonstrate that the manager plan has been a greater success in any of the P. R. cities than it has been in Dayton, which has had it uninterruptedly since 1914, and which has never had P. R.

In the eight cities which now combine P. R. and the manager plan the supporters of P. R. have taken the credit for whatever was accomplished in the way of municipal reform, forgetting that before any P. R. election was held the new charters were adopted by popular vote, which, of course, follows the rules of the majority system. If there is such a majority, the plurality system will not fail to reflect it in council elections, and P. R. can do no better, although it will sometimes do worse by promoting a split among the reform forces which will endanger their subsequent success. The one city where P. R. is not combined with the manager plan is New York. All the successes accomplished by the reform movement were attained under the plurality system. In the first P. R. council, elected in 1937, Tammany secured control after a long court fight (necessitated by a 13:13 split); in the second election it secured a two-thirds majority, and in the third, held in 1941, it just fell one vote short of a two-thirds majority. How "just representation" of

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the voters can lead to Tammany victories in the council at a time when the plurality system indicates a clear popular majority in New York for Fusion is a question which has called for a considerable degree of dialectical dexterity on the part of the supporters of P. R. Space does not permit a setting forth of the fallacious character of their arguments; suffice it to say that if reform in New York had had to wait for the P. R. council there would be no reform yet.

Both in the fields of national and of local government there is ample material to indicate the need for a critical reexamination of P. R. One should think that its supporters would be eager to demonstrate in detail that the criticism directed against them is unfounded. Actually, they have reacted by excluding any presentation of the "other side" from the publications which they control, in particular the *National Municipal Review*, which for most students of the matter in this country is the only source of information. The reason given is that since the Municipal League is now united with the P. R. League, it has to defend the point of view of the latter. Such narrow-mindedness makes it all the more important that independent publications, and independent organizations, do their best to restore the democratic principle of providing an equal opportunity for both sides to present their cases. After this has been done, we may safely leave the decision to the common sense of the American voter!

[1] J. P. Quincy, *The Protection of Majorities*, Boston, 1876, pp. 19–20.
[2] Thomas Hare, *The Election of Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal*, 4th ed., London 1873, pp. xv and 26–7.
[3] C. G. Hoag and G. H. Hallett, *Proportional Representation*, New York, 1926, pp. 116–7.
[4] W. Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, New York, 1877, p. 223.
[5] H. Schneider, *Making the Fascist State*, New York, 1928, p. 80.
[6] G. Volpe, *History of the Fascist Movement*, Rome (no year), p. 109.
[7] Hoag and Hallett, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 134–5.
[9] As Mr. Henry Hazlitt — in *A New Constitution Now*, New York, 1942, p. 65 — has reminded us, Bagehot predicted the results of this fatal weakness as early as 1872.
[10] Y. Simon, *The Road to Vichy*, New York, 1942.
[11] Letter to the Editor of the *Irish Times*, issue of June 15, 1938.

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Plato the Greek and Santayana the Cosmopolitan

J. Glenn Gray

PLATO'S Dialogues and George Santayana's writings impress sympathetic readers with a certain likeness of genus. Both Plato and Santayana are artist-philosophers rather than scientific thinkers; facts do not play so important a role in their thinking as does an emotional and rational interpretation of life and a choice of values. Intellectual sympathy is more requisite for their comprehension than is refinement of philosophic training and vocabulary. A person must experience their philosophy, feel it in terms of his own temperament and developing experience, rather than merely grasp it in words and concrete ideas. Again and again on returning to the Dialogues the reader discovers a new Plato, and similarly a different Santayana emerges from each successive book.

Yet despite the likeness one is soon aware of a distinct difference in type. Coleridge's dictum — that everyone is born either a Platonist or an Aristotelian — is misleading because of what it omits, for it is possible to approach Aristotle and Plato in such a way as to find that scientist and artist are the two halves of one reality. But between Plato and Santayana there is a more absolute cleavage for the very reason that both are members of the same general family. Readers who have the cause of philosophy at heart are bound to take sides. Affinity will dictate their choice. In spite of efforts at objectivity they will inevitably cleave to one and reject the other.

To be sure, it is not really quite so simple as that. There are wide divergences within the works of either Plato or Santayana, divergences which almost prevent their readers from obtaining a unified picture or arriving at a single interpretation. There are

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stages in Santayana's development when Platonic philosophy dominated his thought, when he wrote passages wholly in the spirit of the Dialogues. In Plato's writings, too, there are contradictions such as those appearing in *Phaedrus* and *Philebus*, works as unlike each other as are Santayana's *Poetry and Religion* and his *Platonism and the Spiritual Life*. One who chooses to interpret Plato in a particular fashion or to dwell upon special works of Santayana might make as good a case for similarities between the two as I shall try to make for contrasts, but such an effort would leave out of account the total impression of the best Platonic dialogues and the dominant emphasis of Santayana.

If we consider the general conclusions and the characteristic temper of both philosophers it is possible to draw certain major contrasts. Of these I propose to examine three: the contrast between the creative and the created, between piety and spirituality, and between ideas and essences.

The Creative and the Created

To appreciate Plato's writings one must know something of the civilization that gave him birth. Athenian culture of the 4th and 5th centuries before Christ has had no counterpart in succeeding ages. Each generation has tended to interpret that culture according to its own image and after its own spirit. Ancient Athens has been all things to all men. As the modern reader follows the Renaissance rendering of the mighty ancients, the German Hellenists' vision of Greece and its reinterpretation and reevaluation by the Romantic poets, he may secretly wonder whether those fair forms so dim yet luminous could ever have had real existence. Nor has 19th-century scholarship entirely dispelled the clouds. Ancient Greece still fascinates yet remains obscure.

When we turn to the Dialogues, the mine from which scholars have drawn their information, great wealth lies open before us. In spite of this there is a vital need to comprehend how people really lived and thought in that Athenian world, for though the Dialogues are for all time it is unmistakably apparent that they were applicable in the first instance to their own century and their own civilization.

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With Santayana the situation that presents itself is exactly opposite. Santayana is the product of many cultures and typical of none. In him there are many disparate elements. His philosophy finds its place in no larger thought current. It has few close links with past or present. Santayana is a Spaniard by birth, a New Englander by training, a cosmopolite by choice. Santayana's experiences at Harvard rest lightly upon him. His spirit was always alien in America and since 1912 he has preferred to wander through Europe, finally taking up his residence in Rome. Though essays will doubtless be written on the influence of America or England or Italy upon his thought it will remain true that the nations in which he has passed his life have played only an adventitious rôle in his development. Because his philosophy is primarily personal they are inadequate to explain the mainsprings of his thought. It must be understood in terms of his own personality and his own private experience. He has ranged over all time and all existence, making his own what has harmonized best with his temperament and fusing out of homogeneous elements in the thought of Orient and Occident, Catholic faith and modern rationalism and empiricism, his own interpretation of the world. These elements have been blended by the magic of a peculiar temperament, too refined for the student whose experience has been limited to one cultural environment to grasp it and understand it in all its subtle nuances.

Santayana has himself, though perhaps unintentionally, supplied explicit material for the primary distinction between his thought and that of Plato. In his *Soliloquies in England and Later Soliloquies* (unquestionably one of his best books) several essays are devoted to an analysis of the distinctive features in what he terms classical and liberal periods of history. These periods correspond to two different types of men: the man who exemplifies the *Kultur* in the classical period, and the man of culture in the liberal age. Every nation, writes Santayana, has certain characteristic institutions, representative writers and statesmen past and present, forms of art and industry, even a certain type of moral inspiration. These constitute what he calls its *Kultur*. When this concept is dominant society is homogeneous, undiversi-

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fied, the individual good is absorbed in the life of the whole. Freedom in such a civilization lies in obedience to law and conformity to group disciplines and ideals. *Kultur* fosters love for and belief in what is established and permanent, and looks upon its people, its country, and the universe as part of a single reality. But culture is a matter of miscellaneous private attainments and refined tastes. It can judge the civilization of its day with detachment, having an eye for what is valuable for individual welfare. Ideally it is culled from everywhere. Since culture knows no forced unity, no ulterior purpose, it is able to liberate the mind from obligatory or national discipline and "as far as possible from all bonds of time, place, utility and cooperation." Culture represents the triumph of the individual over society. It is the individual's way of "profiting intellectually by a world he has not helped to make." *Kultur* on the other hand is, according to Santayana, spontaneous; it fosters the creative spirit. Ages of *Kultur* produce the great anonymous works of art. But culture is diversified and sophisticated. It cultivates the critical and appreciative faculties. Ages of culture enjoy and classify the masterworks of their predecessors.

The more I reflect on this distinction the more useful and important it becomes as a criterion by which to determine the contributions of thinkers and artists throughout the epochs of world history. In the present instance it affords an excellent means of contrasting the thought of Plato the Greek and Santayana the cosmopolitan.

A Platonic Dialogue has a public character. There is an objectivity in the flow of conversation, the constant shift of argument and idea, that makes it hard to believe any one man could consciously have composed it. It is as if some industrious recorder had diligently gone about the streets of Athens, copying actual words from the mouths of the people congregated on the market place, in the Lyceum, or within a typical Athenian home.

More than any other quality this public character of the Dialogues accounts for their immediacy and spontaneity. Everything presses toward expression. From the moment the reader opens the book he is in the midst of pregnant ideas, ideas evoked

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and adumbrated he hardly knows whence or how. Men come together and begin to talk. Soon they are dealing with fundamental issues of the day — issues that are, to be sure, for all time. In the rise and fall of discourse one idea after another is passed in review, some are examined and developed, others hardly more than mentioned. But about it all there is an infinite suggestiveness, as of truths about to be discovered or revelations the reader believes himself about to find if only he will stop to reflect and carry out the argument.

Like all great creators Plato knew no rest in his own thought and had no conviction of having found the whole of truth. Not what has been discovered is important for him but what is still to discover, not what is seen but what is still to see. He approached each subject in a new temper and with new protagonists, and though his themes often parallel one another the currents of thought are always different. The scope of his imagination enabled him to see all sides of a question and, by his marvellous intellectual acumen, he could balance them so expertly as to retain their manifoldness while achieving unity of philosophic thought. His secret lies in perpetual openness to experience, to the multifarious ideas then flooding the Athenian world.

This restless creative urge became personified for him in a principle and an ideal. Plato conceived of the demi-god Eros as the source and cause of the creative fire. Eros, as Socrates maintains in the *Symposium*, is not a creature so divine as the many suppose. He is sprung from plenty and want and shares their double nature. This twofold drive causes mortals to be forever in need and forever seeking to possess. Love is a state of need, and the need is for creation, more explicitly for

> procreation which must be in beauty and not in deformity. . . . And this is the reason why, when the hour of conception arrives, and the teeming nature is full, there is such a flutter and ecstasy about beauty whose approach is the alleviation of the pain of travail. For love, Socrates, is not as you imagine, the love of the beautiful only. [It is] the love of generation and birth in beauty. (*Symposium*, p. 331)

Love then is intermediate between need and fulfillment, as philosophy is intermediate between the search and wisdom.

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Philosophers are "lovers of the vision of truth"; they do not possess it already but must continually seek to realize and attain it. In this search lies the most characteristic trait in the Dialogues, their most philosophic and literary uniqueness. It is not that the themes are new with Plato: men had asked before about the best education, the relation of virtue to knowledge, the nature of temperance, friendship, justice, and the like. Plato's originality and creativity lie essentially in his attitude of mind, his peculiar insight and emphasis — and these grew out of the fact that he was indigenous to his people and his age.

In Santayana we find a very different temper. There was early apparent in him a remarkable maturity that gave to his work refinement and elegance in contrast to Plato's more youthful spirit. But though his style exhibits all the sensitiveness of the true artist it lacks the freshness, the exuberance and pungency of the Greek. One senses here a temperament chastened by long experience, by disillusionment, and by a certain weariness. We miss the vibrancy and the fire, the kindling zest of Plato. Instead there is a sober sophistication, a richness of phrase, a careful artistry. In place of the dusty, volatile world of men the secluded tower is here, the quiet vigil of the artist who draws his material from the thoughts of men long dead, who ranges by the magic power of books over all time and all existence.

The chief contrast with Plato lies in the individualistic character of Santayana's work. He has viewed life in the way that belongs to the man of culture — from the vantage point of a spectator. His thought derives its value not from an interpretation of current life as lived by the race of men but from life as it is lived by an individual freed from the necessity of participation in social and political exigencies. Santayana has a message, to be sure, but it is addressed to men of his kind, to persons whose position in life is secure, whose consciences are not burdened by responsibility to their fellows. There is little new thought in Santayana, as he himself has frequently admitted. He is a commentator, an analyzer, a reviewer, a connoisseur.

Critics who have failed to realize that he is not attempting anything new but is reinterpreting the thought of other ages have

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found fault with his eclectic tendency. Santayana's criticism is his best achievement. And there is no question that his appreciative faculties entitle him to a place among the world's best critics.

But the distinction between the creative and the created lies deeper than this. It is inherent in an attitude toward life. Instead of the drive to discover, Santayana exhibits a certain receptivity to what the moment may bring. As he has grown older he has surrendered more and more to enjoyment, to a hedonistic rest in the wealth that has been opened to him. This characteristic is clearly revealed in "Carnival," a brief essay in his *Soliloquies in England*. If we take the long view, he writes, existence is bound to be tragic but why take it? The world is close about us. "Life is free play fundamentally and would like to be free play altogether." Let us live in the present and for the day. He concludes with a striking passage that to some critics has seemed to be his most characteristic utterance:

> The art of life is to keep step with the celestial orchestra that beats the measure of our career, and gives the cue for our exits and entrances. Why should we willingly miss anything, or precipitate anything, or be angry with folly, or in despair at any misadventures? It is all a great Carnival. (p. 144)

The demands of happiness have served to divorce him more and more from a practical interest in life. "To live absorbed in eternal forms, in endless themes of unillusioned and unanxious intuition of forms of intellectual entertainment is what the philosopher might most clearly desire," he wrote in his preface to *The Realm of Matter*. His latest works show him still content to accept existence on its lowest terms, provided it offers a basis for joy. "It is so simple to exist, to be what one is for no reason, to engulf all questions and answers in the rush of being that sustains them." One is reminded of his novel, *The Last Puritan*, where he contrasts the duty-ridden, troubled Puritan, Oliver Arden, with the jovial, self-assured, pleasure-loving Mario van de Weyer. To the latter and his like, thought Santayana in 1935, belongs the future.

In the little book written in 1927, *Platonism and the Spiritual Life*, is to be found what may be regarded as Santayana's final

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and definite rejection of the Platonic faith, coupled with a positive doctrine of acceptance of "the spiritual life." If the reader finds some preliminary difficulty in following the refutation of Plato his perplexities are resolved when he enters upon the major movement of the work, the dithyramb to spirit. There is an initial quarrel with Dean Inge's summary of the elements of Platonism in terms of value, a word that Santayana finds "imageless, subjective and evasive." But Santayana agrees with Inge that the Platonic physics and metaphysics are mythological rather than literal or dogmatic. Though the Platonic system of metaphysics is not dualistic Santayana insists that Plato's absolute distinction between good and evil led to a dogmatism blinding him to other "values." In attempting to express this cardinal Platonic doctrine Santayana himself falls back upon the heavenly machinery of literal Platonism.

> If for the Platonist goods and evils are everlastingly fixed and distinct, this moral dogmatism in him is no accident of temperament, no mere lack of moral elasticity, as in the bigot. If he is sure that some goods passionately loved are nevertheless false goods, it is only because he attributes a definite and unchangeable constitution to the material world and to human nature. Life, he thinks, has been kindled and is alone sustained by the influence of preexisting celestial models. It is by imitating these models in some measure that we exist at all, and only in imitating, loving and contemplating them that we can ever be happy. They are our good. (p. 6)

From this he proceeds to show how Platonism led to a religious dualism that for centuries caused men to regard embodiment of the soul as a disgrace. The philosopher looked upon this world merely as a place in which to transfigure and transcend his human nature in preparation for an eternal state.

But Santayana's dispute is, after all, not with historical Platonism in its mystic and irrational tendencies, for with these he shows considerable sympathy, but rather with the politico-moral, domestic attachments of Plato and Socrates, with their essential unspirituality. Their piety, he writes, was ancient and traditional, "childlike and superstitious when it remained personal, but more often it was expressly political and politic." Here we find the kernel of the matter, for Santayana is preparing

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to unfold his doctrine of the spiritual life. His free spirit objects to a thinker who expressed his philosophy, not as a personal, detached and independent conviction but as a social, political and responsible faith. Plato was not spiritual, he was not free, according to Santayana, but was bound by loyalty and ancient piety to the Athenian state and people. His writing was never without ulterior motives and his enthusiasm was consequently "somewhat equivocal and vain."

This for Santayana is fundamental: Plato and the Platonist refuse to see things in their relative importance and their true proportion. They do not or will not understand; consequently they hypostasize moral principles and proceed to worship them. Plato, complains Santayana, could not see the universe otherwise than as a crystal case within which to house the jewel of a Greek city; he was incapable of any enthusiasm but the pursuit of some imagined moral excellence.

Obviously Plato's piety does not consist in fanatical adherence to traditional concepts of the past. Any reader of the Dialogues can satisfy himself that religion is not to their author any serious devotion to arbitrary supernatural powers. On the humanistic side Platonic piety is deep-going and revolutionary in its implications. The *Euthyphro* and *Crito* furnish perhaps the most striking illustrations. In the former, Socrates, who for Plato represents piety incarnate, is called to account for corrupting the youth and for disbelief in the gods. He disputes with Euthyphro the piety of his intention to hale his own father into court on a charge of killing, through neglect or accident, a murderous serf. The two principals of this dramatic scene are consummate symbols of piety and impiety, the one under accusation for concepts of divinity and human responsibility too advanced and enlightened for his age, the other moved by bigotry and superstitious fanaticism. In the *Crito* Socrates must choose between the two alternatives: easy flight from an unjust sentence or death while remaining consistent to social and moral principles. He decides not to return evil for evil but justice for injustice although the majority of mankind will never understand or agree — a conception of piety based not on instinctive accept-

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ance of tradition but on the reasoned conviction of what is morally and religiously best.

In Plato's day Athenian culture had already passed its peak and disintegrative forces were at work. Old loyalties were declining and Athens gave allegiance to no one creed, no single faith. The sense of change, the concepts of relativism and impermanence, held sway. Men's minds were bewildered by foreign and radical ideas. The Sophists stood out as exponents of an enlightenment that was prying allegiance loose from any social and political faith. Self-seeking and self-assertion were becoming predominant features of Hellenic life; anti-social forces could scarcely be held in check.

In such an age there was much to drive the sensitive artist indoors to his private dreams. Even so robust a mind as Plato's was constantly rebuffed by the crudities of his day. Athens had killed his master because he showed too public a concern for her life and betterment, and philosophers received but scant respect within her walls. One recalls the striking simile, in the second book of the *Republic*, in which the contemporary philosopher is compared to a man who at the onset of a dust storm takes shelter behind the nearest wall until the gust is past. So the philosopher, if he can succeed in keeping clear of the crimes of his fellow citizens, ought to be content to spend his days in peace.

But Plato as a thinker would have none of this detachment and withdrawal. To the Sophists' individualism he opposed a social and political good; to the subjectivism of the poets, a rule of reason. Piety, as many have observed, disappeared in his later enumeration of the virtues but the virtue itself had not failed. Instead it had become a general attitude and disposition of mind underlying the other virtues, a habit of recognizing man's inherent dependence on the universe, the state and the people. Plato's piety is a bold and positive ideal of a social as contrasted with an individual good.

I conceive of Plato's piety as a radical piety based not on man's origins and traditions but on his potentialities and his future. Out of conventional views of the proper attitude toward the gods Plato distilled a new and powerful devotion, the proper attitude

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toward man, the state, and the universe. This is a natural piety that sees in every manifestation of natural laws the striving toward a more harmonious, rational, temperate, and perfected order. This piety identifies man with his state, it identifies the state with the universe, and acknowledges all as belonging to one and the same order.

Thus virtue was for Plato not a private but a public trait, participation in the life of the whole. *Arete* was for him fundamentally a skill, acquired by practice and retained by use. The good man was developed in the concourse of the world, in the society of other minds, in doing things well. This was not a preference for the life of action as over the life of thought. The Greeks recognized no sharp distinction between theory and practice, between thought and action. Nor did he conceive of thought as passive contemplation. Activity was for him the pursuit of knowledge, the search through dialectic for true concepts whereby man could order his soul. And in that striving for knowledge he resolutely aligned himself with the spirit of his people and his race, preferring public good to private pleasure.

It is no idle conceit or fault of taste that the drunken Alcibiades stumbles into the banquet of love in the *Symposium*. Through the lips of Socrates, Diotima had spoken high and noble things. Here was a wonderful vista in which lovers could take endless delight. In pursuit of ideal love they could leave this troubled, earthly realm. But though the dream be true in the highest sense Plato does not allow it to endure for long. By contrast with Alcibiades Socrates is shown in his true character, not only as a reveller in noble theory but as an Athenian of excellence, uniting with courage temperance and with ardent words a sober wisdom. This piety, this passionate loyalty, kept Plato on earth and brought him back from vision to the city that he loved, to Socrates, to the claims of people and of the state.

No reader can doubt that this Platonic idea of morality preoccupied Santayana in his earlier works. In his first published book, *The Sense of Beauty*, Santayana declared that though in origin art is material and subjective, its validity must be moral and ideal. Because art was for him a pledge of the possible con-

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formity between the soul and nature, art became a ground of faith in the supremacy of the good. As his recent critic, George Howgate, points out, *The Sense of Beauty* represented an attempt to account for beauty through psychological determinism and at the same time to justify its manifestations on moral grounds. Santayana's naturalism sought to explain beauty as a purely subjective phenomenon — beauty is pleasure objectified — while his Platonism insisted upon its absolute validity in a world of ethical values. The moralist speaks again and decisively in another early volume, *Poetry and Religion*, on the general thesis that religion and poetry are identical in essence and differ only in the way in which they are related to practical affairs. Here Santayana is most unreservedly a moralist, attacking much poetry, past and present, on ethical grounds and demanding that poets concern themselves not with expressing subjective experiences of beauty but with molding life into better and more intelligible form.

> The expression of emotion should be rationalized by derivation from character and by reference to the real objects that arouse it — to nature, to history, and to the universe of truth. . . . In this way alone can poetry become an interpretation of life and not merely an irrelevant excursion into the realm of fancy, multiplying our images without purpose and distracting us from our business without spiritual gain.

Angering many critics and poetry lovers, Santayana proceeded to attack Whitman, Browning, Keats, and even Shakespeare on purely moral grounds, declaring that much of their work was mere subjectivism and barbarism and that it represented no concern with a rational and moral ideal. In subsequent articles he applied his criterion to romantic poetry in general and found it wanting in the qualities which alone make poetry valuable.

Mysticism was at that time viewed by Santayana with especial aversion because its ideal was counter to the ideal of reason; instead of perfecting human reason it undermined the foundations even of the world we have thus far built. From this point in his development it is only a step to *The Life of Reason*, the phrase Santayana used as "the name for that part of experience which

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perceives and pursues ideals." In this, his most ambitious work, he traced the phases of human progress by interpreting the past in terms of values. It is his underlying thesis that all life is animal in its origins but directed toward ideal ends. His faith in the rationality of existence, in the possibility of ordering life in line with an ideal of conduct, was thoroughly Platonic. *The Life of Reason* was, after all, a result of long study of Plato and Aristotle and critics have pointed out that the essential framework of Santayana's ethics is Greek, perfectionist rather than utilitarian.

But even at that time a subjective and hedonistic emphasis, in marked contrast to the moralistic trend, was perceptible in Santayana's thought. "Happiness," he says, "is the only sanction of life; where happiness fails, existence remains a mad and lamentable experiment." *The Life of Reason* also reveals a strong infusion of un-Greek individualism.

In this book Santayana first concerned himself with preaching a doctrine of unworldliness. It is important to notice exactly this earliest formulation of his important doctrine. First we are impressed by the emphasis on a highest good, an ultimate goal in the spiritual life — an emphasis entirely absent in the reformulation twenty years later. Fixing his eyes on the ideal, the spiritual man strives to live as completely as possible in the presence of ultimate purposes and issues. The spiritual man visualizes his goal so frankly that his physical life becomes merely a passive instrument enabling the spirit to use it in perfect freedom. Unworldliness proceeds from true knowledge of the world, "a quiet comprehension and estimation which, while it cannot come without intercourse in the world's affairs, can very well lay intercourse aside."

In Santayana's earliest development of the doctrine of spirituality we see intimations of the ideal of withdrawal into a private world. Life in the ideal is a vague phrase representing no particular procedure and no specific discipline. Nevertheless Santayana is still concerned with distinctions of value, and many readers have interpreted this conception as the very climax of *The Life of Reason*.

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But the tendency toward subjectivism and detachment steadily grew upon him. The World War robbed him of his faith in reason and turned him further away from an interest in outer objective values. He began then to formulate the important later series entitled *Realms of Being* that includes *The Realm of Essence*, *The Realm of Matter*, *The Realm of Truth*, and *The Realm of Spirit*, the last published as late as 1940. In addition to these four important volumes Santayana also published the short and brilliant study already alluded to, "Platonism and the Spiritual Life." This essay, considered in conjunction with *The Realm of Spirit* of which it was a forerunner, leaves no question as to the character of his final ideal of spiritual life. No longer does he conceive of it in terms of values but as a disintoxication from their influence. Spirituality now means to Santayana, as it meant to the early Christian Fathers, a renunciation of the world — an emphasis partaking of the mysticism peculiar to the Orient.

> The great masters of the spiritual life are evidently not the Greeks, not even the Alexandrian Greeks, but the Indians, their disciples elsewhere in the East, and those Moslems, Christians, and Jews who have surrendered precisely that early unregenerate claim to be enveloped in a protecting world designed for their benefit or vindication, a claim of which Platonism, after all, was but a refined version.

This is the ideal of pure intelligence, divorced from self-interest and free from illusions concerning any real difference between good and evil. The spirit's kingdom is not of this world; consequently political zeal, even action of any kind, is at most a means that whenever possible should be dispensed with entirely. Existence is for the spiritual man merely a "vehicle for contemplation and contemplation merely a vehicle for joy."

Spiritual life is no longer a democratic ideal, no longer "the fundamental and native type of all life," as in Santayana's earlier works. Nor has the world an obligation to cultivate it. But it is the supreme good to those who are called to it, "the few whose intellectual thirst can be quenched only by the impartial truth and the self-annihilating contemplation of all Being." The spirit has no enmity with its parent psyche nor with the flux of matter.

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It is free. It celebrates its freedom by living in any world it chooses. Spirit is simple awareness, light, intelligence.

But the reader grows weary pursuing this winged spirit. The rational mind will assert that this mystic experience is a mere aesthete's fancy, a dream world, separate and high, a haunt for the mysterious seer, the monk, the romantic poet concerned solely with himself and his own sensations.

Ideas and Essences

In the attempt to point out contrasting interpretations of the world in Plato and Santayana two doctrines have been and will perhaps continue to be most characteristically associated with their two names — the so-called doctrines of Ideas and Essences. The "ideas" of Plato have had so bewilderingly many interpretations that it is fair to say they have meant something new to every thinker who has considered them. From the "ideas" the Hellenistic world derived a clue for the systematization of Plato's thought. Later ages used them as a basis for religious, scientific and psychological theories. Consequently to follow their history is to follow the whole stream of Western thought. The mind tires before the dualisms, the mysticism, and the metaphysical constructions that have come out of these Platonic "ideas." And although modern scholars seem more inclined to view them from the perspective of the Dialogues themselves than from that of their history it is only too apparent that we have not yet reached the end.

It is perhaps safe to assume that "essences" will not influence future ages as Plato's "ideas" have influenced the past. Yet the interpretation of them may be as difficult and as diverse. Santayana devoted an entire book to the exposition of the "essences" but despite this fact there is still much mystification as to precisely what they are. The confusion seems to grow as *The Realms of Being* expand and the doctrine gains in popularity.

Why such a variety of interpretation and misinterpretation of two great and apparently clear thinkers? Primarily because both philosophers are poets and in their metaphysics they reveal more clearly than elsewhere their true artistic temperament. So long

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as "ideas" and "essences" are thought to be doctrines the student will be confronted with insuperable difficulties.

But to say that "ideas" and "essences" have little specific metaphysical significance is not to deny or minimize their importance. As poetic insights they are the most representative concepts in both philosophies. We may therefore expect to discover a final and characteristic contrast in attempting to comprehend their poetic and aesthetic meaning. For Plato "ideas," considered aesthetically, are ideals. They are the imagined perfection, the completed excellence of things worth desiring. If we consider the idea of beauty as set forth in the *Symposium* this meaning becomes apparent. Why should Plato so carefully follow the lover's progression from the beauty of physical form, to the beauty of institutions, to the abstract beauty of concepts, until he arrives at the idea of beauty itself and sees it in its essential form in whatever manifestation? The vision of Diotima is a glimpse of imagined perfection, a vision of what man might become if he could so discipline his energies in the interests of an all-compelling purpose as to realize his goal.

For Plato imagination and intelligence are combined in the supreme faculty of *theoria*, which is insight into the ideal and the evaluation of it. In the *Phaedrus* the soul is portrayed as tripartite. Reason, the charioteer, drives two fiery horses, one representing the lower, baser longings, and the other the higher, nobler desires. In the *Republic* the same threefold division is expressed in terms of rational, spirited, and appetitive elements. Because the spirited part of man's soul takes the side of reason the soldier forms a complement to the man of thought, the philosopher-king. The soul's first need is for reason, but spirit and the power of enthusiasm are also required to kindle desire for the higher and to sharpen the vision of the ideal. If we consider the Platonic temperament as a combination of cool Socratic reason with the fire of poetic gifts which transform the rationalist into a seer, we shall rightly understand the meaning of "ideas" as ideals, the reasoned vision of the best.

When Plato felt the insufficiency of analytical speech for an expression of this vision he turned to myth. Plato's dualism, in-

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sofar as it is dualism, inheres in his conviction of the superior worth of the ideal over the real. He presents no cosmic dualism between ideas and the world of reality but rather what might be called a psychic dualism: a conviction of the chasm between the things worth knowing and possessing and the things men actually do know and possess. The Dialogues make us cautious, however, about assuming that Plato lived in the ideal and esteemed it without regard to the real. He knew that ideals could not actually be attained. Herein lies the power of his idealism: he gave ideals their proper relevance and did not expect of men more than that of which humanity gave promise.

A famous passage in the *Republic* sets forth the true function of ideals. When Glaucon presses Socrates concerning the practicability of his suggestions Socrates makes the significant rejoinder:

> We are inquiring into the nature of absolute justice and into the character of the perfectly just and into injustice and the perfectly unjust that we might have an ideal. We were to look at these in order that we might judge of our own happiness and unhappiness according to the standard which they exhibited and the degree in which we resembled them, but not with any view of knowing that they could exist in fact. (pp. 735–36)

But however desirable ideals may be in combination they are not valid in isolation. A man who had developed a full capacity for the enjoyment of beauty without having learned that other excellences are of equal power would be repugnant to Plato; a perfectly just state devoid of other virtues would be intolerable. Only when excellences are integrated and realized in their proper relation can man realize the good, the idea "which far exceeds essence in dignity and power." Plato would have us see the good man and the good state as an ideal harmony of the natural virtues. This city, this ideal of the good, dwells within and there only. The wise man will "take heed that no disorder occur in it." He will rule over the city of which he is founder, a city that though it exist in idea only is nevertheless most real. Whatever else Plato may mean by his "ideas" they are the means whereby

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life can be unified and given direction, the standard and pattern that raise existence above the passing show.

To approach Santayana's "essences" from the aesthetic point of view we must distinguish between nature or matter and essence. The former is real, in the sense that it exists, but the latter is logically and aesthetically significant. Matter or nature is the matrix and source of all existence; its most important creation is the psyche, which is directed to essences and which alone can render nature intelligible. In *Scepticism and Animal Faith* Santayana played the role of sceptic toward the essences. He tried to pare the universe down to the flash of a passing moment and in that simplest sensation he discovered essence. This essence was not understood in psychological terms as an act of sensation but as a quality sensed. Santayana insists that essences are not meanings nor have they reference to time and place. They include an infinite eternal realm of forms only a few of which become the intuitions of any particular psyche. But as intuitions they seem for Santayana to embrace the whole realm of intellectual activity. Truth is only a segment of that realm of essence but a segment in which essence relates to actual existence and explains it. The life of intellect, or of its offspring, spirit, is only incidentally concerned with truth: essences afford a richer and more satisfying experience. Essences are apprehended directly. They become present to consciousness without mediation, for they are "all surface." To reach essence is to disregard dogmas, beliefs and moral claims and to rest in the security that an essence is aesthetically just what it seems to be: the immediate intuition of a conscious mind.

Essences are thus for Santayana the finding of the eternal in the moment. The mind that dwells on essence need not look before or after but can be content to be "what it is for no reason." This sense of the ultimacy of the immediate is the most characteristic quality of the theory of essence. It is a denial of the relevance of past and present. So long as there are thought and meaning there will be anxiety and turmoil. Essences are eternal, Santayana says, and to live in them is to rise to the world of pure being, to escape from the feeling of existence.

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Thus a mind enlightened by scepticism and cured of noisy dogma, a mind discounting all reports, and free from all tormenting anxiety about its own fortunes and existence, finds in the wilderness of essence a very sweet and marvellous solitude. The ultimate reaches of doubt and renunciation open out for it, by an easy transition, into fields of endless variety and peace, as if through the gorges of death it had passed into a paradise where all things are crystallized into the images of themselves, and have lost their urgency and their venom. (*Scepticism and Animal Faith*, p. 76)

Many critics, puzzled by this doctrine of essence, have related it to the Platonic "ideas." But Santayana has spoken plainly about this kinship. His system, he says, may perhaps be considered "a variant of Platonism designed to render Platonic logic and morals consistent with the facts of nature." Essences are "ideas" infinitely extended, freed from all confusion with natural forces and disengaged from moral significance. According to Santayana Plato really recognized the essences, he knew that myths were only myths, "ideas" only ideas, but drawn by the political and moral temper of the Greeks he was led to assign them a place in the very structure of the world. Had Plato been content to recognize "ideas" as the universal objects merely of his intuition he would not have mistaken essences for existence and there would have been no need for a modern doctrine of essence. But for Plato "ideas" became ideals, having power to make existence a struggle for perfection, whereas "essences" remain objects of sense, having power to arrest the immediate. Plato could not be content with a contemplation of "ideas"; he must live by them. Santayana's "essences" afford food simply for aesthetic delight and rapt contemplation. To use the Platonic metaphor, he prefers to live in the sun rather than by its light.

Our personal affinities and experience will be likely to draw us toward Plato or toward Santayana. But an impartial observer, if there be such, might consider their ultimate values from different points of view. The practical mind sees in Plato a powerful spur to action and in Santayana the renunciation of action; in Plato a radical, visionary, yet sane perfectionism and in Santayana a quiet, mystical satisfaction with that which is.

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The Dance Completes a Cycle

John Martin

THOUGH the dance is virtually standing still and holding its breath because of the war, this is not, as it happens, an inappropriate time to survey its general state of being. There is no doubt that war constitutes a more serious ordeal for it than for the other arts, for it is a young man's art and old men cannot simply take over and carry on until the young ones return. Almost more serious than this, it is itself a young art in its most important native manifestation, and has in fact just barely arrived at the point where it can demand financial support on a demonstrable basis of achievement in these days when money-raising for an art project tops the list of ludicrous enterprises. The leaders of the movement, however, are not young any longer, and after a generation of soul-trying sacrifice and labor have reached the threshold of ultimate accomplishment only to find their entrance blocked for the duration. If that duration should be long, there may never be any entrance at all. The situation is delicate, to say the least. Nevertheless, whether by a kind of deathbed clairvoyance or merely as a result of the general intensification of the times, the clearest view in many years is now to be had of the forces at work within the dance itself and of their inherent directions.

It is necessary, first of all, to realize that the art moves in two complementary divisions. The one is conservative, using the word in its simplest meaning; it would conserve the accepted wisdom of the past, formulated from period to period in a platform of working principles, adding its own wisdoms as they evolve and allowing the obsolete to slough away. This is the field which we generally call the ballet, or the academic or traditional or classic or European ballet. (Since money and conservatism always exhibit a marked affinity, there is never any insurmountable obstacle to financing ballet companies, come war, flood, or

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pestilence.) The other division is radical, again in the simplest meaning of the word; intolerant of hearsay, tradition, and creed, it would go at once to the roots of the subject, formulate its own principles on the basis of first-hand demonstration and make all its creations personal, spontaneous, and pragmatical. This is the field which we commonly refer to as the modern dance, or the free or expressional or sometimes the American dance. (Money and radicalism never seem to hit it off, somehow, and this instance is unhappily no exception.) Obviously the developments in the two fields must be independent, whatever colors of influence they may exchange, and equally obviously the dance art depends upon both for its wholeness. In both fields, even without any war, these would have been momentous years of change, marking the end of one cycle and the beginning of another.

In the field of the ballet the signs of change are eloquent even to the most superficial observation. The Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo has now complicated the already curious geographic implications of its title by calling itself "America's own"; the first successful new work it has had in several seasons is the first "all-American" work it has ever produced, namely, "Rodeo" by Agnes de Mille, set in the cow country, using no traditional movement whatever, and having as its most warmly welcomed feature an authentic American square dance complete with "caller." The other large ballet company, the American-formed Ballet Theatre, though it has been taken over by Russian direction in both its business and artistic departments and has crammed all the available Russian dancers and choreographers into its personnel as if it were some Slavic Noah's choreographic ark, still makes its greatest success all over the country with "Pillar of Fire," a modern psychological drama by the English Antony Tudor, danced by an English and American cast. At the same time, its two new works by an outstanding Russian choreographer, Leonide Massine, have proved to be failures not only at the hands of the critics, who are always suspect, but also at the box-office, from which there is no appeal. For the first time in history American dancers are using their own names instead of

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adopting fictitious Russian ones, and in several cases are changing Russian names which are legitimately their own to American-sounding ones.

These are merely surface indications of a change that is basic; the period of the Russian Ballet (or rather, the ballet Russe, which is the same thing, perhaps, but with a difference) is over. It is the only kind of ballet we have known in our day, except for those poor, undernourished stepchildren that have struggled along at the Metropolitan and the other opera companies over the country on suffrance, but it will not be long before we shall have seen the last of it.

For this the causes are several, and of them all the war, if the most immediate, is the least fundamental. It has served to hasten the end of the cycle as it has tended to hasten the end of other systems already on the verge of disintegration, but that end was inevitable anyhow before very long. Specifically the major effect of the war has been to cut off contacts with that European twilight world which ate its lotus chiefly on the Riviera, and which by a sinister kind of pretension to the ultimate in culture managed largely to control the directions of the ballet. There is now no audience for those adventures into the effete, and the repertoire must accordingly fit itself to other tastes. If there are any good things to be said about war, this is one of them.

That the course of the Russian Ballet should have been dictated by the Riviera is the ultimate cause of its present exhaustion. When that famous first Russian company from the Imperial Theatres of St. Petersburg and Moscow burst upon Paris in 1909, it made history by no mere fluke of sensationalism but by being a vital manifestation of art in a barren time. With all the vigor of its Slavic temperament it proved beyond cavil that its leader, Michel Fokine, was right when he preached the revolutionary doctrine of expressiveness in an art which had died generations ago of traditionalism. But this great period of return to function was of short duration. The first World War and the Russian Revolution cut off the life-giving contact of the company with its native soil; the little group of artists that stayed in Western Europe was left like some crew of shipwrecked marin-

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ers to resist assimilation in the alien atmosphere only by the perilous course of inbreeding.

Diaghileff, the impresario who had made it possible in the first place for the new and unconventional art to escape the tyranny of the Czar's hidebound theaters by an annual visit to the outside world, was now in complete control, and though he was hailed with enthusiasm for his great service in keeping the ballet alive, actually he was the last man in the world capable of doing that very thing. To begin with, he was Riviera-minded, himself. In the second place, he was not a ballet man but an impartial patron of innovation for its own sake who welcomed change just as much in the fields of music and painting as in dance. The result was an overemphasis on décor and music in all their more fashionable iconoclasms and a neglect of the essential stuff of the ballet which happens to be dancing. Russian Ballet was now lost in Ballet Russe.

The fruits of this policy are everywhere before us in the now fortunately waning repertoire. We have a succession of ballets in which symphonies of Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms, Berlioz, Tchaikovsky, Shostakovich, are in command of the stage while the dancers are arranged mathematically in patterns to conform and cosmic banalities are supplied by way of program. We have other works fitted into surrealist décor of Miro, Dali, Chagall; sometimes we find the dance squeezed into breathlessness between Matisse and Shostakovich, or Dali and Wagner, or Chagall and Tchaikovsky, in a single work. Where there is no actual domination such as this by what should be subsidiary arts, the ballet form has degenerated in the main into a synthetic compound of music by a composer preferably dead, plus décor by a fashionable easel painter, plus costumes by a smart couturier, plus choreography as scarcely more than a necessary incidental, plus a theme supplied perhaps by any one of these collaborators. The great revivifying revolt of Fokine insisted, it is true, that music and scenery should no longer be merely turned out to order by hacks, but that idea has been exaggerated until the major art concerned has not only lost the controlling voice in its own house but has been virtually shouted down.

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As for the state of choreography itself in the midst of all this, instead of being developed from its own roots it has been grafted upon the stalks of the other arts. Without consideration for the basic production of human movement out of emotional experience, it has simply had its exterior bent to the bold dissonances and extravagances of the Riviera musician and painter. Movement has been lost in acrobatic posturing and contortion, meaningless except in so far as they are tremendously difficult or outré or both. To emphasize its hybrid character there still remain about it, as in any conservative art, traces of all the periods of its long development — an exaggerated elegance which dates from the social aspirations of the ballrooms of the Renaissance, the artifice of the 18th century theater, the sentimentality and woman-worship of the Romantic Revolution, the strong ephebic accents of Diaghileff and post-war decadence. All of which adds up to a convincing picture of sterility.

Time itself has contributed, logically enough, to the end of such a cycle. Fokine is dead, Diaghileff himself is dead; the great dancers who helped make an epoch have all passed into retirement with few equals to replace them; Pavlova is dead, Nijinsky has long been an invalid. The direct line, indeed, is perilously slender. Of dancers who have belonged to the tradition long enough to qualify there are only Alexandra Danilova and Leonide Massine, neither of whom belongs to the first generation and both of whom are nearing the end of their dancing days. What is more calamitous is the dearth of choreographers, either who survive from the great days or who might carry on in that tradition. Bronislava Nijinska, who created some important works twenty years ago but whose output of recent years has been small and uneven in quality; Massine, who has turned out some thirty or forty generally workmanlike rather than important ballets to date and is still tremendously active though obviously tired; George Balanchine, a brilliant, fecund, and definitely minor artist with one foot in Hollywood; David Lichine, with no more than half a dozen still tentative works to his credit and a Hollywood contract in his pocket; who else?

It may well be that in the distant future, historians looking

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for convenient milestones by which to measure the span of the Russian period will consider the death of Fokine in the summer of 1942 as the end of the epoch. Actually he has not been its leader for many years and it will probably manage to eke out a few more seasons of existence before it completely disappears, but the margin that remains to be fulfilled of its life bids fair to be uneventful and to proceed at an increasing rate of decline. To all intents and purposes it is dead.

With the war always in the foreground, it is dangerous to prognosticate, but the new tendencies in the field of the ballet are distinctly healthy and heartening for the future. If it seemed curious back in 1909 for the great art of Fokine and his colleagues to come out of the supposed barbarism of unconsidered Russia, it will seem equally so that the art of the next period of the ballet's greatness bids fair to stem from stolid Britain and commercial America. That, however, is exactly what is happening before our eyes.

It is possible to take three particular choreographers as indicative of what lies immediately ahead, not because they are the only ones but because, first, they have scored notable successes and are consequently, in these early stages of a new period, influential even beyond their specific accomplishments; and second, their directions are manifestly those of the times. They are the English Antony Tudor and the two Americans, Agnes de Mille and Eugene Loring.

Of the three, Tudor — naturally enough, since he is European — is most within the tradition, for all that he violates it at every turn. He is the next logical step beyond Fokine in the progression of periodic revolts within the ballet by which it has grown. It is always the same revolt, to be sure, directed against the meaninglessness which accumulates from overrefinement, overformalization, overclassicism; and its end is always a return toward function, though with varying and, indeed, increasingly vital manifestations in each epoch. With Noverre in the 18th century the keynote of the reform was imitation of nature, with Fokine it was expression, with Tudor it is evocation — all devel-

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opments of the same theme in accordance with the emphases of the times.

More than anybody who has gone before him, Tudor deals in character and individual psychology; his treatment, however, departs altogether from any naturalistic representationalism that that might suggest and aims rather at the creation of sharp images of experience. His technical basis is the traditional academic ballet but his vocabulary distorts and denies this basis in order to shape it to the presentation of heightened emotional states and conflicts. In his searching of such states and conflicts he is merciless; never before has the ballet had so much of human intensity about it.

Miss de Mille's return to function is entirely unfettered by any relation to the direct line of ballet development. She cuts across it with complete independence, strongly influenced by the self-contained logic of the radical American modern dance. The academic technique forms part of her classroom practice but on stage she either repudiates it entirely or employs it for period purposes. She turns her back wholeheartedly on the spurious elegance of tradition and creates people who are of the earth, racy and colloquial. Some of the artists of the Ballet Russe have pronounced her vulgar, and if that word is returned to its true meaning, that is what she is, and with the deliberateness of artistic conviction. More than any other choreographer in the field she is aware of folk art and impulse, and most of the time it is possible to trace in her compositions some grounding in the actual materials of simple peoples, contemporary or otherwise. Her work accordingly manages to be hearty even when its undercurrents are poignant and its forms subtle.

Loring is as markedly American in texture as Miss de Mille though his work does not lean toward the genre style as hers does. It is much more interested in form and in the evocation of overtones out of ordinary American life. "Billy the Kid," the first American ballet of real stature to be created, captures in essence an entire epoch by the simplest and most suggestive of means; and "City Portrait" and "Prairie" do something of the same thing for different milieus. Like Miss de Mille, he is

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first of all an actor-dancer, and like her he falls easily into the spoken word when his dramatic action seems to lead in that direction. His compositions, however, are never in the form of straightforward dramatic narrative; his most interesting innovation in this department of activity is the use of a kind of montage which bears a much closer relation to the cinema than to anything in the background of the ballet. Partly because of the necessary tendency toward formalization which his poetic point of view entails, and partly because he still lacks full command of movement in its basic aspects, he resorts to the standard academic vocabulary too frequently for the good of his quite unacademic approach. At his best, however, his movement is a kind of stylization of natural gesture, evolving ultimately out of the actor's art.

With due allowance for the marked personal differences in these three methods, a unity emerges very clearly. The new ballet is altogether a theater art, turning its back on "pure" design, neoclassicism, and the specialized cult of balletomania. Spectacle as such is a dead issue; music and décor are functional parts of the collaboration and neither of them is allowed to run away with the situation. The world of stereotyped 19th century fantasy with its elves and pixies is gone, and along with it that more lugubrious world peopled by Fate, Love, and Death in person. There is too much substantial humor in the new ballet to face these hangovers with a straight face. Humor, indeed, is a striking characteristic of the new field, whether it expresses itself in broad farce, high comedy, satire, burlesque, or merely a sense of balance in dealing with matters of tragic or introspective import. This new ballet world is above all a human world; imaginative and idealistic, if you will, but related to actuality. All of which constitutes a revolution inherently no less startling than Fokine's, for the ballet, the most artificial of the arts, has turned at last in the direction of reality. It is not reality, to be sure, in the sense of literalness and naturalism, but in the poet's sense of penetration to the core of experience. Nor, indeed, has the goal been reached, but the direction of the new cycle is definitely established.

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In the development of this aim it is impossible to overemphasize the influence of the radical American dance, which came into being some forty years ago with Isadora Duncan and has fought and bled through two generations for just such a function for the dance art. Certainly the least of its concerns at any time has been its possible influence upon the ballet, which it has held in healthy contempt for the superficialty of its preoccupations; but it is ironic that some of its own ideas at secondhand have been able to attract financial subsidy within the frame of the ballet and hence to find voice for themselves, when its firsthand and unquestionably superior presentations of them have failed to do so.

This is to be accounted for quite simply, not on any basis of comparative merit but rather of comparative tact. The so-called modern dance is unavoidably tactless by its very nature just as science is tactless, for it is seeking truths and is unable to compromise even to win that patronage without which the very search cannot be carried on. Thus the art, in order to make progress, has had to disprove the impossibility of lifting itself by its own bootstraps. Its lifting muscles are overdeveloped and its bootstraps frayed, but it has done a notable job of the impossible. Given a fair hearing before a qualified jury, able to discriminate between art and pedantics on the one hand, and between social and "society" values on the other, the so-called modern dance would in all likelihood be found the most significant art manifestation of our times, its only serious competitor being that musical development known loosely as jazz.

Its great significance lies in its isolation for the first time in history of the basic substance of all dance, the same in all times, climes, and cultures, and the laws which govern its production and control. This substance is movement evolved directly out of subjective experience instead of postures, attitudes, and gestures objectively determined to conform to preconceived designs and purposes. Movement thus emotionally stimulated proves to be stimulating in turn to the emotion of the spectator, who, if he will allow himself to do so, becomes in fact a vicarious participant in it. This, in a word, is the basis of the modern dance. It achieves

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its results not by representation or symbol but by direct kinesthetic contact; it aims at the nerves, so to speak, rather than at the senses or the intellect.

Obviously in its early stages it is an extremely lyric art, the simple outpouring of personal feeling; and it was thus that Isadora Duncan practiced it, producing the most profound reaction throughout the artistic world by the unprecedented power and depth of her evocations. Her art had nothing in it of the theater, as she was the first to admit, and the history of the modern dance since her early revelations has accordingly been the steady building upon her principles of a dance art that is of the theater. The processes involved in this evolution are of staggering proportions, for all the subsidiary arts of this theater must stem from its main root which is creative movement. Its music is essentially the song of the dancer, based on his breath phrase and blood pulse, even though it must be transferred to other instruments than his voice as he dances; the setting of the stage must be merely the visual definition of the space through which he moves, a pointing up of its areas and levels. Obviously its musical composers cannot be symphonists long dead nor its designers easel painters however fashionable; all its collaborators must be deeply dance-minded.

Through unbelievable effort and personal heroism these results have at last been, if not materialized as richly as adequate financing would make possible, at least admirably realized both in principle and in detail. In Doris Humphrey's great "New Dance" trilogy, in Martha Graham's "Letter to the World," in Hanya Holm's "Trend," a new world of the dance has been opened. It is also a new world of the theater, the freest, most genuinely theatrical theater anywhere to be found, and a blessed relief from what generally passes for theater but is really nothing more than a set of condensed novels read aloud by charming people in tasteful replicas of drawing-rooms.

But as yet this mightily potential art has not been allowed to enter the promised land of financial security, where alone its true values can be realized in material shape. It must content itself with high ideals and cheese-cloth costumes, piano accom-

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paniments and a large and passionate public of young people who believe with all their hearts but are helplessly impecunious.

We have insisted for so long that the dance is a luxurious, effeminate, and fancy diversion, shutting our eyes stubbornly to the more serious phases of its growth, that we are not without a certain consistency when at the first sign of crisis we abandon it as one of the more expendable forms of trivia. This is more consistent, however, than wise, for during the past twenty years it has proved itself in the fields of both art and education; it has substantiated to an amazing degree its claim to being the closest of all the arts to basic human experience, as well as the most potent of media in the realm of pedagogy for the integration of mental, physical, and emotional life.

What the chances of survival are for the present highly advanced manifestation of the art, who can say? It is now at the moment of development where with recognition practically expressed it could go ahead to unpredictable glories, and where, lacking that recognition, it may simply face a hungry death with its lap heaped with seeds ripe for the planting. By the nature of its unique virtues, it has no traditional material to hand down to keep barren periods busy until new leaders arise to illuminate it; if the present leaders disappear from the field before the seeds have germinated, there will be no future whatever.

To be sure, there can be no such thing as extermination for an art that rises out of natural drives so long as those drives themselves exist; but no more, indeed, can the forces of fascism destroy the ultimate achievement of political and economic freedom, even under the inconceivable circumstances of a victory by Hitler over their present manifestations. There is cold comfort in contemplating these ultimates. All that can be said with certainty is that the art of the radical American dance is at the threshold of great achievement right now. Its cycle of experimentation is over and cannot be extended merely for expediency; its next cycle is as a magnificent and encompassing theater, nearer to the deep-seated drives of the people out of whom it grows than any theater has been since the theater of Dionysus. If the war does not last too long —.

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A Subject of Sea Change

John Peale Bishop

I

I have built my house amid sea-bitten green,
Among the pitch pines of a dispersed wood;
The winters of five years it has withstood
Incessant winds and in the salt air been
Bleached in its shingles to a silvery grey,
Which even now, when spring is overhead,
Answers from thickets of unwakened bay.

Along this coast, thickets of wild bay abound
With leaves as bitter as worn fame would be,
Did not the inveterate winters intervene
To strip and scatter all the blackened green;
Yet here no mortal head was ever crowned;
Along the sea, courage alone is praised;
Only the sea adorns the dissolute drowned.

The bay resumes abstract mortality,
Bleached branches breaking from a sandy ground,
As penetrable as the dead
Who wildly clamored round
The sacrificial pit for the spilt blood
And were not eased before Tiresias came
To his dread repast from the slain ram.

No need to pour out black blood on the sand.
The multitude of the dead is now too easily raised.
Yet should they come
They would, though the heart lift and beat, be dumb.
Even if he should come at last
Upon his golden staff, stumbling and blind,
Tiresias, who, among the shifting dead,
Has high repute for holding a steadfast mind,
Who'd listen, should he come, though all he said
Were borne in words rare and profound,
Unbodied voices being unused to sound?
Who listens now to the hoarse speech of the dead,
Or heeds predictions from a derelict past?

The Phi Beta Kappa poem read at Columbia University June 1, 1942.

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II

I have built my house upon these ancient sands
Swept shoreward from the sea and beyond the shore,
Spurned sea-loss adding to the spume-lost store
Ten thousand years or more,
Until what was the sea's remains the land's.

I chose this outlook on the changeable sea,
After much voyaging, to find
Not calm, for calm's a constant of the mind,
But in this sea-changed air a constancy —
Like a man's look contracted where he loves —
To hold in instant contemplation
The shifting flow of human history
That seaward sets even as it shoreward moves.

I choose this strange inconstant coast,
Where all is won and lost,
Lost and again won,
As though each day were present at creation.
What if the long breakwaters amplify the land,
The sea retire before a widening strand,
When the great waters break? Then all once more is change
And again change. The oldest contours
Of these refluent shores
Are subject always to the sea's revenge.

Here we are so far flung out
Into the spacious seas, we cannot choose but know
How all things come about and about.
Sharper than any gale's tang on the cheek we feel
Sensuously the seasonable wheel:
Know the delayed spring's silvery advance
And autumn's soon retiring golden rout
Are largess in a long extravagance.
Sea-ravished senses easily conceive
What else had been an unquickened thought
Which all acknowledge and none quite believe,
That every ordered change of form
Brings winds' disorder and destroying storm.

Alert to all this natural ebb and flow,
I thought I should be taught to bear
In the salt shudder of this sea-borne air
The fall and flood that's fatal to our history.
The sea, like remorse, is everywhere
And its great wrecks have long surviving spars.

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Between two worlds betrayed, between two wars,
I've had no sadder thing to bear than change,
No darker thing than night,
No more dread sight
Than warriors to whom honor is strange.

I must learn again the great part of Man —
Though the lines are scant that any man may speak —
Proclaiming with such passion as I can
The part first played, and nobly, by a Greek.
Time is man's tragic responsibility
And on his back he bears
Both the prolific and destroying years.
And so, I swear, he must surround each act
With scruples that will hold intact
Not merely his own, but human, dignity.
Let him not fall into our common fault
Which is to ignore stains of corroding salt —
Let me not wash my actor's mask of tears!

I long to get on with the play —
But then in the background I hear the great bombs drop
And suddenly tremble lest the long play stop
And only throned statues of the great survey
A reign of rubble in a littered day.

III

Noon's brilliance strains through cobalt streaks
To spread in azure and pale light beyond.
If blue were all, this were the sea where Greeks
Squatted like Plato's frogs about a pond.
The sea, the sea, burns with antiquity.

There was a sea cast gods from its surf like spray,
Salt on their lips, the animation
On their faces like the light
Of an invisible joy, the brightness of their breath
Not from the stiff and breathing surge, and they
Knotted their hands in the wild manes of horses
And the horses emerged from the waves, stranger
And stronger than the leaping waves, and came
Trampling like light upon the shore and there,
Stilling their trembling in the luminous air,
Were mused to marvels of untroubled stone.

On what indeed does all our state depend
But on the architecture of the waves,

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That staring whiteness where no whiteness stays,
Sequence of waves that signify no end
Unless it be, under the harassing wind,
To hasten toward the shore and overwhelm
The old division of the gods' dominion?
The sea is subject to another realm.

The need for order first created gods
Immortal, then gave them generation,
Since every god is unthroned by his son,
And a deposed god is a cruel fantasy.
So every order that the mind's conceived
Conceives its own corruption.
The oldest god was soon forgotten
When his potent members sank into the sea.
I look upon another sea
And now the world's confounded into odds
And state is mutilated or achieved
Remember how Love came on the immediate swell
Reflecting in a shiver of resplendent spray
The dawn enclosed within her secret shell.
No other god has held so visible a sway.

IV

Death greets us all without civility
And every color of the sea is cold,
Even as now, when sensual greens advance
Under the contrary waves' propensity
Toward desirable blues. The sea is old,
Severe and cold, secret as antiquity
Under the scud of time. And the sea rants,
Storm-crossed, thunder-tossed,
Yet has a poetry so profound
That none but the unwaxed ear to the mast bound
Should hear it, or it may be the lost
Long-listening bodies of the drowned.

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Socialism *versus* European Democracy

Ludwig von Mises

WHY did democracy fail on the European continent? What forces prevented Europe from maintaining popular government? Who were the grave-diggers of European parliamentarism? There can hardly be any questions more pressing. The nations that have been lucky enough to preserve their democratic way of life are eager to learn what caused the failure of European democracy. They want to be prepared for the defense of their own freedom, and are therefore eager to know the enemy whom they may one day have to fight at home.

Public opinion has viewed the European history of the last hundred years mostly in the light of Marxian legends that badly distort the facts. According to this interpretation the bourgeoisie abandoned the cause of freedom and established the dictatorship of capital. Big business and finance became aware that democracy, the rule of the majority, must necessarily lead to socialism. Eager to maintain their position as an exploiting class, the capitalists and entrepreneurs plotted against democracy. They hired scoundrels to fight against the people. Their sycophants disparaged democracy and popular government, and their armed mercenaries succeeded in overthrowing the majorities that aimed at government by the people. Modern tyranny is an outcome of capitalist machinations. The only sincere and unswerving supporters of democracy are the socialist proletarians.

Every page of European history contradicts these statements. Let us review the most significant facts and see whether they verify the Marxian interpretation.

French Experience

In February of 1848 the French dethroned Louis Philippe, the Orleans king. They substituted universal manhood suffrage for

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the special privilege of only 250,000 electors. All adult male citizens of France, roughly 9,400,000, now had the right to vote. On April 23 about 84 per cent of them made use of their newly acquired right. They voted quite freely; nobody was in a position to prevent their voting as they pleased, and nobody ventured to try. The outcome of these elections was a National Assembly in which 90 per cent of the deputies unconditionally supported private ownership of the means of production. It was a smashing defeat for socialism. The socialists were forced to realize that only a small minority of the nation approved their plans. Their illusions were dispelled: the sovereign people had decided against them.

But they were not prepared to yield to the verdict. Hoping to seize power by violence, they rose up in arms. Of course they were defeated.

The Paris revolt of June 1848 was the most frivolous rebellion ever instigated. A small minority of armed men tried to defy the vast majority of the nation and establish a reign of terror and tyranny. The June conflict was not, as the socialist propagandists like to say, a "cowardly massacre of innocent proletarians by the soldiers of reaction"; it was the defense of democracy against the assault of a small minority. General Cavaignac and his troops safeguarded democracy for the moment against the conspiracies of those who aimed at minority rule.

The experience of June 1848 had momentous consequences. A specter has haunted Europe ever since — not the specter of communism, as the Communist Manifesto asserted in 1847, but the specter of terrorist dictatorship by a fanatical minority. The majorities, anxious to preserve democracy, became aware of a new danger; they knew they had had a narrow escape. From then on they began to see that the socialists — the Reds, the men of the extreme Left — were deadly foes of freedom, more dangerous than even the Church, the Bourbons, and the aristocrats. They became terribly frightened. This was the anxiety that Louis Napoleon, the adventurous nephew of the first Napoleon, turned to his own advantage. He was a stranger; nobody knew him in France, and he knew nobody; he had seen

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the country only through prison bars; and he spoke French with a German accent. But the majority of the nation voted for him because they expected that he would overcome what they considered the greater danger, the terrorism of the fanatics. Thus the anti-democratic rising of the socialists led to the second empire. It alone was responsible for all the disasters that the rule of Napoleon III and Eugénie brought upon France and upon Europe.

The mournful events of June 1848 were duplicated by the Paris Commune in the spring of 1871, which gave fresh evidence of the socialists' unflinching support of dictatorship, minority rule, and terrorism. Again the army and its commanders had to defend the rights of the majority against the plots of a minority. It was a civil war for the cause of parliamentary government against tyranny.

All the arguments brought forward to justify these two rebellions were essentially anti-democratic. They run this way: The socialist proletarians are the elite, the vanguard of the backward masses. They know better than the misguided majority what will best serve the interests of the nation; they are borne on the wave of the future. They therefore have the sacred duty of overthrowing the majority and establishing their own dictatorial power. Democracy is a thin disguise for the rule of exploiters. It should be styled "Plutodemocracy." The leaders of the elite have the duty of profiting by any opportunity to seize power. Right is anything they call by that name.

These tenets are familiar to our contemporaries; they are the doctrines of Georges Sorel, of the French supporters of *action directe*, of Lenin, of Mussolini, and Hitler. It is not our task to criticize them; we have only to emphasize that they are not democratic. The signers of the American Declaration of Independence were an elite too, but they were the representatives of the great majority of their fellow citizens. They were an elite because their countrymen had elected them to safeguard the national welfare. They were not a junto of conspirators eager to rob their countrymen of self-determination. This was democracy.

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Of course majorities are not infallible; all mortal men may err. But it is the essential feature of democracy that it denies a minority the right to impose its own will on the majority. He who believes that the majority is wrong must try to change his fellow citizens' minds by persuasion. If he fails, he must hold his peace; he has no right to rise up in arms.

The worst consequence of the anti-democratic spirit is that it divides the nation into hostile camps. The citizenry lose confidence in the working of democratic government. They fear that some day one of the anti-democratic minority groups may actually succeed in seizing power. Thus they think it necessary to arm and defend their rights against the menace of an armed minority.

French social and political conditions and thinking have been deeply influenced by the menace of socialist usurpation. This fear was the largest factor in the revival of French militant Catholicism; it fanned the flames of aggressive nationalism, Boulangerism, and the anti-Dreyfus campaign. It had its share in the evolution that ended with the capitulation of 1940. There were very few friends of democracy left in France by that time. The rest of the nation was in two hostile camps; both the communists and the nationalists violently opposed democracy.

From France the fear of revolutionary socialist assaults spread to the rest of Europe. The French experience motivated Bismarck's efforts (1878–1890) to put down the Social Democrats by the same oppressive methods that their own champion Karl Marx approved in the acts of the Paris Commune and recommended in writing. Bismarck was a foe of democracy; he was defending not popular government, but a scarcely disguised German absolutism. He was right, however, in believing that the struggle against the Marxists is a struggle against a minority seeking to oppress the majority by violence. True, the German voters who voted the socialist ticket did not want revolution. But the Marxist authors boasted of their party's revolutionary aims and advocated its dictatorship. Bismarck, the Junker, chose the wrong means of sweeping away Marxism; it is futile to fight ideas with police. But, paradoxical as it may sound, in this cam-

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paign the champion of the Hohenzollern autocracy was fighting for freedom against the determined advocates of oppression.

The Bolshevik Mind

The frustration of the revolutionary attempts in France forced new tactics upon the friends of socialism. As they did not want to renounce their ambitions entirely, disappearing from the political scene, they had to acquiesce in the peaceful methods of democracy. They organized political parties and ran for seats in parliament. There were socialist groups in every parliament of continental Europe. The socialists became an important factor in most of those countries. Some optimists were prepared to believe that the Marxists had renounced their spirit of usurpation, giving up their revolutionary inclinations and hoping to realize their plans by parliamentary and democratic methods alone; but this was an illusion.

The thirty years preceding the first World War saw a tremendous success of socialist ideas. Sidney Webb (Lord Passfield), the distinguished leader of the British Fabians, was quite right when in 1889 he emphasized that "The socialist philosophy of to-day is but the conscious and explicit assertion of principles of social organization which have been already in great part unconsciously adopted," and that "the economic history of the century is an almost continuous record of the progress of socialism." But this success of socialism was not an achievement of the Marxist parties, united from 1889 onward in the second International Workingmen's Association. New socialist parties sprang up, parties firmly opposed to Marxism. There were Catholic socialists, nationalist socialists, and many other parties seeking social reform and pro-labor policies. There were governments eager to restrict capitalism and embark upon social legislation. Foremost among them was the German government, whose new social policy, inaugurated at the end of the seventies and solemnly announced in the old Kaiser's imperial message of November 17, 1881, shaped the pattern of the later American New Deal.

The Marxists saw themselves outdone by governments and

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rival parties; they began to realize that notwithstanding their electoral successes their prospects of sweeping the masses with them were but small.

A socialist party always tries to achieve its own brand of socialism, not the simple victory of *any* socialist group. The socialists do not advocate socialism and planning in general, but only a system of socialist planning in which they themselves are supreme. They regard the rule of another socialist party not as a partial success for their own aspirations, but as a greater evil than the capitalist market economy. The mutual animosity of Stalinists and Trotskyites, of the Marxian socialists and National Socialists, is in a class by itself. It is easy to see the reason for this hatred: as long as there is still a market economy, socialist minorities enjoy civil liberties and are free to propagate their doctrines; in a socialist community they are deprived of this opportunity. Where all assembly halls, newspapers, periodicals, and printing offices are in government hands, and where every citizen depends on the whims of the rulers, there is no room left for opposition activities. It is mechanically impossible to criticize those in power publicly; dissenters are exiled or driven underground.

Such considerations helped preserve and revive the spirit of socialist usurpation. The radicals denounced parliamentary tactics as treason to the fundamental tenets of socialism. Socialists, they said, should expect nothing from electoral victories and the support of majorities; they should not adopt bourgeois methods but strive unswervingly for revolution.

In Western and Central Europe the Marxians were prudent enough not to express such opinions in public. It would have jeopardized their chances in election campaigns. They discussed these questions in the inner circle and dealt with them in their writings, which few non-Marxists read. But the majority of the Russian Marxists, the Bolsheviks, openly adopted the principle of the revolutionary elite: a group of professional conspirators must snatch the reins of government and subdue the majority of the nation. Lenin's and Bukharin's writings preach the gospel of forcible oppression, dictatorial rule, and totalitarian extermina-

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tion of dissenters. They too, of course, were ignored by the Western European public until 1917.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the Russian events in the fall of 1917. The Bolsheviks failed lamentably in the electoral campaign; the parliamentary majority was radically opposed to their plans. But they were an armed body of fighters; they dispersed parliament, and firmly established their rule — the rule of an elite, say they; the rule of a gang of murderers, say their adversaries. The knell of European democracy had sounded.

There are people who honestly believe that the Bolsheviks are right, that socialism is a blessing and that capitalism is all wrong. It is not the task of this essay to investigate that problem. We have only to underline the obvious fact that Bolshevism does not mean democracy.

German Experience

The outcome of the first World War had destroyed the old prestige of the Hohenzollern family, of the Junkers, the officers, and the civil servants. The democracy of the West had shown its political and military superiority. The war, which according to President Wilson had been fought to make the world safe for democracy, appeared as an ordeal by fire for democracy. The Germans, beginning to revise their political views, turned toward democracy. The term democracy, almost forgotten in Germany for half a century, became popular again in the last weeks of the war. The Germans saw democracy as not only a return to the civil liberties — rights of man — suspended for the duration of the war, but above all the substitution of parliamentary government for monarchical near-absolutism. These points, as every German knew, were implied in the official program of the Social Democrats. People expected that the Social Democrats would now put into practice the democratic principles of their program, and were ready to back them in their effort at political reconstruction of the Reich.

But from the ranks of the Marxists came an answer that no one outside the small group of professional Marx experts could have foreseen. "We class-conscious proletarians," the Marxians de-

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clared, "have nothing in common with your bourgeois concepts of freedom, parliamentarism, and democracy. We want not democracy, but the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., our own; we are not prepared to grant you bourgeois parasites the rights of man, the franchise, or parliamentary representation. Only Marxists and proletarians shall rule henceforth. You are perplexed: you say you had always thought we were sincere in formulating and advertising the democratic points on our program. That is your fault; if you had studied the writings of Marx more carefully you would have been better informed."

These revelations were a terrible shock not only to the rest of the nation — the majority of the Germans — but also to the greater part of the people who had long voted the Social Democratic ticket. The eyes of the Germans were opened. Now they learned that everything the Social Democrats had professed for fifty years was a lie. All their talk had had but one end in view: to put Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in the place of the Hohenzollerns. Democracy was evidently a mere term invented for the deception of fools. In fact, as the conservatives and the nationalists had always asserted, the advocates of democracy meant to establish mob rule and the tyranny of demagogues.

The communists grossly underrated the intellectual capacity of the German nation. The very idea of boasting after fifty years of pro-democratic agitation that they had never honestly wanted democracy — of telling the Germans: You dupes, how clever we were to take you in! This was too much even for the old members of the Social Democratic party. Within a few weeks political Marxism — not socialism as an economic system nor Marxism as a sociological doctrine — had lost all its former prestige. The idea of democracy became hopelessly suspect. From that time on the term democracy was, to many Germans, synonymous with fraud. The immense majority solidly rejected communist dictatorship.

The communists were a small minority only; the independent socialist party, which was ready to back them, was not much larger. But they were strongly entrenched in Berlin, they had armed troops of ex-soldiers and ex-sailors from the Imperial

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Navy at hand, and they could count on the support of masses of young bravos in the capital. The revolutionary government — the people's representatives — was a group of incompetent leaders from the right wing of the Social Democrats. They too were opposed to communist dictatorship, fully realizing that the majority of the old party members rejected it. But they sat in the government palaces, helpless, defenseless, passive, and frightened out of their wits. The communists were in a position to overthrow them, seize power, and block the elections for the constituent assembly. Dictatorial totalitarianism was imminent.

By October and early November, 1918, the nationalists were in a state of utter desperation. But they were quick to see the situation and seize their opportunity. They were quicker than the Marxists in sensing the radical change of mood brought about by the menace of communist dictatorship, and they were ready to profit by it to stage a come-back. They knew what their policy for the immediate future must be. Their most urgent need was to prevent a Red dictatorship and wholesale communist extermination of the non-proletarians. The nationalists, adamant foes of parliamentary government and democracy, decided to support the cause of freedom and democracy momentarily so that they might overthrow them later. They were ready to cooperate with the right wing socialists in carrying out the first part of this program, and to support the government that they detested. For purely tactical reasons they offered the nation a program of liberalism and democracy. Marxist methods found imitators; the nationalists had profited from reading Lenin and Bukharin. And, faithful to the revolutionary tactics of the Bolsheviks, they armed for the fight.

In January, 1919, the rising of the communists and independent socialists in Berlin was defeated by the not-yet-disbanded cavalry division of the ex-Kaiser's guards and by volunteer corps made up of nationalists and demobilized soldiers who were not too eager to go back to humdrum civilian work. This battle did not end the civil war; it continued for months in the provinces, and broke out afresh time and again in the capital. However, the victory won by the troops in January, 1919, at

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Berlin safeguarded the elections for the constituent assembly, the session of that body, and the promulgation of the Weimar Constitution. William II used to say: "Where my guards set foot, there is no more question of democracy." The Weimar democracy was of a peculiar sort. The horsemen of the royal guards had fought for it and won it. The Constitution of Weimar could be deliberated and voted only because the nationalist enemies of democracy preferred it to the dictatorship of the communists. The German nation received parliamentary government as a gift at the hands of deadly foes of freedom who were only waiting for a chance to take back their present.

Both the nationalists and the communists saw the Weimar Constitution simply as a battle-ground in their struggle for dictatorship. Both armed for civil war, and each, trying repeatedly to open the attack, had to be put down by armed resistance. But the nationalists became daily more powerful, while the communists were paralyzed. It was not a question of votes and seats in parliament; the centers of gravity of these parties lay outside parliamentary affairs. The nationalists were openly supported by the greater part of the intellectuals, white-collar workers, small business, entrepreneurs, and farmers, and they also enjoyed the secret sympathy of a good many workingmen who still voted for the Social Democrats. They could act freely, were familiar with the problems of German life, and could adjust their actions to the changing political and economic conditions of the whole nation and of each province; the communists, on the other hand, had to obey orders issued by Russian leaders who did not know Germany, and were forced to change their tactics overnight whenever the central committee in Moscow ordered them to. No intelligent or honest man could endure such slavery. The intellectual and moral quality of the German communist leaders was consequently far below the average level of German politicians. They were no match for the nationalists. The communists' only role in German politics was that of saboteurs and conspirators. After January of 1919 they no longer had any prospect of success, though of course the ten years of Nazi misrule have revived German communism.

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The Germans would have chosen democracy in 1918, if they had had to choose. But as things stood they had only the choice between the two dictatorships, Left and Right. Between these two dictatorial parties there was no third group ready to support capitalism and its political corollary, democracy. Neither the right-wing Social Democrats and their affiliates, the Democratic Party, nor the Catholic Center were fitted to adopt "plutocratic" democracy and "bourgeois" republicanism. Their past and their ideologies prevented. The Hohenzollerns lost their throne because they rejected British parliamentarism; the Weimar Republic failed because it rejected French republicanism as embodied in the third Republic from 1870 to 1930. The Weimar Republic had no ideal except to steer a middle course between two parties that were striving for dictatorship; parliamentarism, to the supporters of the administration, was not the best system of government, but only an emergency measure, an expedient. The right-wing Social Democrats wanted to be moderate Marxists and moderate nationalists. The Catholic Center tried to combine moderate nationalism and moderate socialism with total Catholicism and yet maintain democracy. Such eclecticism is doomed; it does not appeal to the younger generation. In any conflict with a resolute adversary it is bound to succumb.

The Nazis had a clear program: they meant to establish a German socialist commonwealth and render this system economically self-sufficient by conquering "living-space." Only defeat in the present war will convince the Germans that this program is detrimental to them.

No Democracy without Democrats

It is not necessary to elaborate with further examples drawn from the history of smaller European nations. What happened in France, Russia, and Germany happened there too.

It is a bold distortion of historical fact to say that the Left, the socialists, were eager to establish popular government and that the Right, the bourgeois capitalists, defeated these attempts. Neither the Marxists nor the other socialists ever aimed at democracy. What they wanted was their own dictatorship.

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Today, of course, the German and French Marxists are deeply mortified that their rivals have supplanted them. They scorn dictatorship, and indulge in democratic talk. But they would hardly care to establish democracy if they came into power again.

Victors in civil wars are cruel and vindictive; their revenge is merciless. (History knows only one exception: the behavior of the Northerners after Appomattox.) The public rightly resented the atrocities committed by the soldiers of Cavaignac and Gallifet and by the German nationalists at Berlin and Munich in 1919. But these crimes by no means disprove the statement that the socialists and communists meant to overthrow democracy.

Nobody is prepared to learn by experience; the German Marxists are no exception. They lay their failure to the fact that they were not brutal enough to follow the example of the Russian Bolsheviks and thus missed the opportunity to root out the seeds of reactionary counter-revolution. This interpretation ignores the fact that the majority of the nation was strictly opposed to Marxist rule. All the Marxist parties in the Reichstag together were in a minority through the whole fourteen years of the Weimar regime. Besides, almost all those who voted for by far the strongest Marxist group, the right-wing Social Democrats, were decided opponents of proletarian dictatorship. The communists tried in the winter of 1918–19 and again later to seize power through revolutionary uprisings; they were defeated. If the leaders of the moderate Social Democrats had tried to establish dictatorship by a *coup d'état*, they would have been deserted by their voters and smashed, and the nationalists would have succeeded in getting full control even sooner. It was impossible to stop the evolution of Nazism by violent repression. The only way left to fight Nazism was to refute its dogmas and offer the nation a better program. This is where the Marxians failed lamentably. They were unable to expose the glaring fallacies of Nazism because they themselves were anti-democrats.

European democracy broke down because there were no democrats left in continental Europe. The place held in America by the Gettysburg Address was occupied in Europe by the Communist Manifesto. No further comment is necessary.

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Liberal Socialism Proposed for Germany

Stephan Lackner

HITLER'S most important asset inside Germany is that not a single German can imagine what will become of him after his Fuehrer's and his Gauleiter's disappearance. Each individual German is more afraid of a coming peace (with the impending bloody revolution, of course, and an uncertain issue) than he is of an endlessly continued but well organized war. No German likes to improvise. If we could only help him to get a vision of a future without the Nazis, he could weigh the dangers and advantages of this future against the advantages and the horrors of the Hitler régime.

One thing is certain: a defeated Germany will be caught between Russian communism and Anglo-American democracy. Russia — even if she does not say it right now — wants a Soviet-Germany, the Anglo-Saxon powers want a democratic trading-partner. The only formula that might satisfy both these victorious groups and, at the same time, sound attractive to the Germans is "Liberal Socialism."

This seems the only possible common ground on which the United Nations could meet in spite of their diverging philosophies. "Liberal Socialism" can be a new formula for a future German state, on which all nations concerned might agree in advance in order to avoid bickering at the peace conference, or worse complications. Liberal Socialism: that's a slogan which twenty years ago would have been called a contradiction in itself. But now the inner laws and longings of the European masses seem to lead to this conception. The collapse of the German war machine will leave the field free for this fascinating experiment.

The United Nations can hardly afford to entrust the shaping

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of Germany's destiny to a departing Hitler or to his future Ebert. Very soon perhaps the time will be ripe for an all-out peace offensive against the Axis leaders. It is absolutely necessary to have a detailed program with slogans that will win the Germans over to an Allied peace and that, at the same time, will guarantee a satisfactory international development after the storm of hatred and vengeance will have died down. Up to now, we have had the Atlantic Charter which offered some very good but shapeless generalities and which did not even gain the enthusiastic support of our Russian partner, to say nothing of the German masses.

What should Germany's planned future look like?

So far in this century, exactly two successful attempts have been made to capture the imagination of the German people by means of a program: first, Wilson's Fourteen Points; second, the twenty-five points of the National Socialist Party Program. Both programs succeeded in their initial purpose: they undermined the resistence of the German people, they did away with the fighting power of the opposition to these programs inside Germany. And both programs, in spite of their apparent success, proved to be disastrous failures in the long run. The mistakes of these two historic propaganda offensives should be avoided in formulating the new program; yet their specific appeal to the German mind should be studied and, if possible, duplicated.

Wilson's initial Fourteen Points were a master-stroke because they were none too friendly towards Germany and her Allies. The picture of their future — as painted in Wilson's message of January 8, 1918 — did not appear to them unbelievably rosy; and so during the following ten months of 1918, they made up their minds to give up the struggle. It should be remembered that even at that early moment Wilson indicated quite clearly what Europe would look like should the Germans lay down their arms. The creation of a Polish state with access to the Baltic sea (point 13), the loss of Alsace-Lorraine (point 8), the breaking up of the Ottoman and Hapsburg empires into their national particles were contained in this first program. This was a rather exact prophecy of the territorial sacrifices.

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The coming program too should begin by telling the Germans in unmistakable terms what sacrifices they will have to make after their defeat. This time they will have to forego parts of their national sovereignty. German payments in gold or labor or territory cannot be profitable to the victors, certainly not in the long run. But if the Germans will pay by renouncing the super-nationalistic complex they have developed since the destruction of their medieval Holy Roman Empire, it will be a real gain for the world. In military matters, in dealings with the Nazi criminals, in questions of racial and political tolerance, Germany must be deprived of her free will until she has learned to behave like a civilized nation in a cooperative society of nations. These restrictions, clearly stated, will at least catch the attention of the "Herrenvolk." They will show that the Allies are in earnest and will induce the Germans to take the other points of the new program seriously.

The second point may also be learned by studying what made Wilson's program so effective for German consumption: the new program should include a blueprint of the machinery which will be set up to maintain the coming peace. Wilson promised limitation of armament of all the nations (point 4) and, last but not least, a League of Nations (point 14). To the wearying Germans the attractiveness of these forecasts was incredibly strong. Of course this time they would not again believe such promises, because they remember too well how Wilson's intentions were frustrated after the Armistice.

What would they believe, then?

To me it seems absolutely certain that they would be eager to join any international peace program which contained the word Socialism. "Liberal Socialism": nothing less and nothing more will do.

Let us consider for a moment the touchy question whether this program could be accepted and propagandized by the United Nations. Some kind of socialism would be the missing link, so to speak, between the Russian and the Anglo-Saxon systems. The British, in their present state of mind, would not be fundamentally opposed to a liberal-socialistic reconstruction of Ger-

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many (even though the *Encyclopedia Britannica* says that liberalism and socialism are incompatible. But there will always be a new edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica!*) Soviet Russia, up to now, has never been satisfied with mild socialism; she has worked against the Social Democrats and their kin in Germany, France, and elsewhere. But then, she had never been a member of the United Nations: perhaps this new situation might induce her to accept and support a political organization of Germany which would include democratic and liberalistic elements. It all depends on whether she wants to continue her collaboration with the Western world after this war, or whether she thinks it more advantageous to stage a Soviet revolution in Germany and thereby risk the very dangerous opposition of a victorious Anglo-American coalition. On this crossroad will occur the final test for inter-Allied diplomacy.

The strongest objections to a socialist plan for Germany will, no doubt, come from the United States. Most Americans still think that "to make the world safe for democracy" should be the only decent and legal aim of any major fight. But on the other hand, they feel that an autonomous Germany who would shape her own destiny by voting shifting majorities into power would not be very safe for her neighbors: Americans know too well that the majority of the contemporary Germans are educated to be imperialistic warriors. So they know implicitly that, at least for a transition period, a stricter organization than the free democratic system must be imposed upon the German populace: and a thoroughgoing socialistic reorganization of Germany would be cheaper for America than an eternal occupation by Allied troops. The paradoxical fact is that the existing democracies of the world will be safer with a supervised and stabilized German government than with another democratic Weimar republic as a partner.

Even if American popular opinion would not by itself approve of a socialist revolution in Germany, I think there is enough magnanimity in the American character not to turn against the heroic Russian ally who would support such a revolution. No one can doubt that it is better to come to an agreement with the

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Soviets now than to fight over internal German questions later. American public opinion will have to swallow several other European revolutions which are bound to sweep aside corrupt governments and castes after the fascist domination is removed. Let us hope the United States will not turn away from Europe in disgust this time too!

President Wilson knew that a dash of utopianism was necessary to obtain the right mixture for a peace formula: only a Utopia, no *status quo ante*, would appear to Germany the lesser evil compared with a prolonged war. This was the promise which lured the German masses into overthrowing their militaristic leaders: they were to partake in a league of disarmed nations, all of whom would be on equal terms in world commerce. That seemed a desirable future indeed, even if they were to be compressed into a reduced territory. Now this time America does not feel inclined to promise such a thing to a beaten Germany: general disarmament is out of question, as was stated in point 8 of the Atlantic Charter. If America wants to show Germany the seductive picture of Utopia, this time it cannot be the classic pattern of an equalizing democracy with all its inherent possibilities for demagogues; it must be something more thoroughly organized, and that can only be genuine Socialism.

Of course, to propagandize such a program would be mingling with the internal affairs of a foreign nation, but the plans to "hang the Kaiser" or to do away with Hitler implied some interventions too! In 1917 Ludendorff imported Lenin into Russia in a sealed railway car, like dynamite, in order to get rid of his Russian enemy. From the German point of view this was short-sighted enough, as Hitler probably would testify today. Let us import the idea of Liberal Socialism into Germany in order to get rid of an enemy — and in order to win a future collaborator and friend. There is no sentimentality in this project. In any case, there will be a bloody civil war in Germany after this war; so why not try to guide the destructive floods into channels from whence they can fertilize the land!

Liberal Socialism in Germany will be the only form of government to fit into the European pattern. Czechoslovakia will cer-

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tainly be revived on a leftist basis. The same is to be hoped for Austria. Hungary and a few other states dominated by a handful of landowners will have to undergo revolutions in order to lose their feudalistic and aggressive character. Italy might be a very progressive little state after losing her imperialistic dreams, that nightmare nostrum. Russia and England will welcome a reborn German state that has a positive function in the collective life of the European family. And this cooperation might lead in time to some form of Pan-Europa or United States of Europe (supported and controlled by a world government) which will be the only definite guaranty for a durable peace. This final aim must be included explicitly in the Allied peace program. Only if the Germans know that neither black reaction nor orgies of revenge will shape their future will they slip into that state of mind which Wilson effected by his promise of a League of Nations.

Thus the internal change in Germany will be a solution for quite a lot of international problems. All these complicated questions can only be mentioned now. But the course which Allied propaganda towards Germany should take seems clear enough. Germany should be told now that the Allies will negotiate only with a Liberal Socialist government of hers. And later, when the Germans will have yielded, the Americans, the British, and the Russians — preferably meeting in Berlin this time! — should make sure that there is no camouflage and that the Nazi imperialists are utterly destroyed.

Now: how would Germany herself feel about this slogan of "Liberal Socialism"?

We need not guess. There is that other program which has been a success with the modern German masses: the original Nazi program.

This "Program of the National Socialist German Labor Party" was devised in 1920 by some crackpots and "guttersnipes" (as Mr. Churchill calls the most prominent one of them); by discouraged and fanatic men who had never succeeded in life. It is impossible to imagine a more perfect contrast than that between the professor who had been elected to the highest office in the United States and these sorry malcontents. But in 1920 the

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program of the successful intellectual had failed; and now it was the turn of the malcontents to devise a plan for the salvation of Germany. No wonder that it was the opposite of Wilson's project. The contrast is a chief explanation why the Germans found this second program acceptable. Rightly or wrongly, they felt cheated and abandoned by the rest of the world. A program which would not rely on any international organization but only on the brute force of the Germans themselves seemed to offer a more concrete basis of success.

If one beautiful morning they will be confronted with the fact that the guttersnipe's ultra-nationalist program has failed, they will probably turn again into the other direction. If properly handled, they will be inclined to try international cooperation. The nationalistic paragraphs of the Nazi program will be out of date; they will have lost their magic power. These paragraphs comprised about one half of that program. The new project which now must be formulated can well sound attractive to the Germans without such charming details as, for instance, points 8 and 19 of the Nazi program: "All further immigration of non-Germans is to be prevented . . ." "We demand the substitution of Germanic Common Law for the materialistic international Roman Law."

The new program will, however, not attract German sympathies without something corresponding to the other half of the Nazi program. This is the quasi-Socialist half. The second half of the magic formula of "National Socialism" will not have lost its utopian magnetism — simply because it has not been translated into reality by the originators of that program. The Germans got all the nationalism they wanted, and even more than they wanted. Yet for the promised socialism they got only *ersatz*.

It is well worth while to look at those points of the Nazi program which gave expression to the crude and unscientific "socialist nostalgia" (*sozialistische Sehnsucht*) which lingers in the soul of the German masses. Point 7 ran as follows: "We demand that the state be obliged, in the first instance, to provide the possibility of work and life for the citizen. If it is not possible to feed the entire population of the state, the subjects of foreign

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states (non-citizens) must be expelled from the Reich." (Non-citizens, of course, meant the Jews.) It is an irony of fate that now Hitler has had to import six millions of those subjects of foreign states for slave-labor. But the important thing for the Germans was, and still is, that the terrible plague of unemployment was destroyed through planned enterprise with the state as employer. This promise to rid the Reich permanently of unemployment was (and still is) one of the big assets of Hitler's party-program. It is impossible to overestimate the demoralization and embitterment of the German youths who, week after week, had to go to some office to get a rubber-stamp into their "*Arbeitslosenausweis*," without any other prospect in sight. In January 1933, when Hitler came into power, there were 5,966,000 Germans registered as unemployed, plus one and a half million who had not registered — nearly 12 per cent of a highly industrialized population were out of work. If something like this, by foolish mistakes of the coming leaders and organizations, should be the consequence of the future "peace," nobody can foretell what the desperate Germans would do. It simply must not happen again.

The Nazi's point 13 said: "We demand the nationalization of all trusts." Point 14: "We demand profit-sharing in large concerns." These promises have never been fulfilled. The Weimar Republic had practiced a "Socialization of losses" for the big industrialists, and Hitler's war program has augmented this practice to gigantic proportions, without basically changing the principle of private ownership of the country's production capacity. The attractiveness of points 13 and 14 to the German working man is still as fresh as it was in 1920.

The same goes for point 17: "We demand land reform adapted to our national needs, the enactment of a law for the uncompensated expropriation of land for public purposes, the elimination of land interest and the prevention of land speculation."

When Hitler finally got around to building up a war machine, he tacitly skipped the "*Landreform*." He did not expropriate a single Junker — because he needed their military tradition and training. Though German propaganda tries effectively to deny

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this, about 80 per cent of his higher officers are these old "*vons*" whose forefathers served under Frederick the Great or, at least, under the Kaiser. Well, this time there is no reason to cheat the German peasants again. The more radically the land-owning nobility, especially in Prussia, is eliminated, the better for Germany and for the world. This profoundly anti-militaristic act, of which even reactionaries in Britain and America will approve, will be nothing else but a social revolution. I do not see anybody in the world except the Junkers themselves who will wish to stop this phase of the coming German revolution. The farmers who today are being settled artificially (and mostly without their consent) in a dozen conquered countries just to suit the whim of their Fuehrer to "Aryanize" this planet, will have a positive task to fulfill in cultivating the run-down estates of the Junker caste. But it is doubtful that the Slavs will buy return-tickets for many of them!

The unfulfilled socialist promises of the Nazi program can, properly utilized, be the greatest incentive for a German anti-Nazi revolt. The new peace program should formulate them in an economically and logically sound way to make them more than mere propaganda tricks.

How will the word "liberal" sound to German ears?

In the combination of "Liberal Socialism," taking the place of the miserably discredited term National, it will certainly sound new. This is something already. For ten years now, every newspaper and every radio has been repeating day in and day out that National Socialism is the thing. Suddenly the Germans will notice that they have been tired of this sound for some time; especially since no reality was behind that façade. It served only to cheat all classes into an all-out support of the totalitarian war program. Even the Germans might be able to see through that scheme by now.

Another advantage: they will believe that the Allies truly stand behind this formula of "Liberal Socialism." Up to now they have been unable to understand how Soviet Russia and the Anglo-American democracies could come to form an alliance. Hitler tells them that never was there a more unnatural union than that

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between Bolshevism and Plutocracy. They will suddenly see the common ground on which these freedom-loving powers stand, they will believe in the inner durability of the United Nations, which means that they will feel forced to comply with the suggestions of these powers.

To those Germans who are not Nazi by character, the word "liberal" will symbolize all that they have missed — all the ease and beauty of life, the freedom and security from wanton persecution. It would signify the fine things which, for Americans, are associated with the word "democracy." For Germans this latter word has an entirely different meaning, it is loaded with the ugly memories of a democratic party-system which, in Prussia, once permitted Nazis and Communists to form a combined majority. The majoritarian mechanism of democracy is not fit for a country whose whole education for ten years was Nazi, whose jurisprudence is molded so as to give the state absolute power even over the thoughts of the individual, whose press and radio have forgotten what responsibility before one's own conscience means. Germans have not known American democracy, but only German democracy — a chaotic system which was too weak to safeguard its own functioning. They just would not see anything desirable in a return of their erstwhile twenty or thirty political parties. But Liberalism: that might evoke in their minds a much older trend, namely, the German revolution of 1848. The memory of that people's uprising is not dead, the intelligentsia knows, for instance, the fate of the freedom-loving Richard Wagner and other great Germans at that period. "Liberalism" has a familiar, perhaps a little old-fashioned sound. It would mean a constitution and the return of self-expression in art, science, and religion. Of course, these freedoms are democratic by the American definition, and if in due time the educational work of the United Nations bears fruit, they probably will be called so in Germany too. Democracy may be earned, not decreed!

Democracy can be the form of the state, if the contents of this form is a solid, liberal-socialist majority, but only then. The economic life of Germany cannot be left to individual initiative and competition when so many tasks of reparation and organiza-

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tion are lying ahead. There must not be a precarious parliamentary coalition which, in the middle of a huge liberal-socialist project, can vote itself and that program out of power. One instance for this necessity: Vice President Wallace revealed recently that he and Mr. Molotoff have been planning a gigantic inter-continental highway from South America through North America and Alaska, through Siberia into Europe. Many such breath-taking projects will have to be executed once the peace is won: international electrification, banking, education, etc. But what would happen to these programs, if a German parliament should get a nationalistic, chauvinistic majority? That government would perhaps decide that autarchy is better for the German character than internationalism, that it does not want to spend millions for the benefit of foreign tourists and tradesmen, that it does not like the idea of a world state without a German leader. What then? Would an international police force be sent out to bombard this parliament? Is it not better to make sure from the beginning that only a cooperative and really cooperating government will have power in Germany?

All available channels should be used to bring home the points of the new program to the German masses: liberty for their private lives, plus planned economy for their state. Radio, airborne leaflets and booklets, should explain to them how to form the Liberal Socialist Party of the future.

This slogan of Liberal Socialism will "take." The Germans like combinations of long words. For American ears liberal in this combination is hardly more than an adjective. For Germans, however, it melts with the second noun into one new concept; the accent is on the third syllable, which means a definite preponderance of the initial word "Liberal." The combination sounds, as far as I can remember, new and surprising. "*Liberalsozialismus*" will have neither the odium of past defeats nor of nationalistic reaction, like all other party names in European politics. I cannot help but think that the program contained in this word — even before the necessary details have been worked out — will show a clearer path through the terribly bloody months that lie ahead.

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IN THE WORKSHOP

Recent Greek and Roman Archaeology

Gisela M. A. Richter

THE war put a stop to practically all scientific excavations in the Mediterranean world. Names of places which before September 1939 figured large as sites of ancient civilizations are still prominent in the news, but only as places which have been successfully or unsuccessfully bombed. Nevertheless archaeological work has not ceased. Here and there — in Italy for instance — a few excavations are actually proceeding and new material is being brought to light; but above all, the study of what is at hand continues. In fact so many important discoveries had been made recently that it was almost time to call a halt. Especially in the spring and early summer of 1939 the excavations at Delphi, Olympia, Thermopylae, Mycenae, Dendra, in Attica, near the bay of Navarino, and in the neighborhood of Paestum had brought about such sensational results that it will take years to evaluate them. For new material supplies us with new knowledge only after years of study. It may bring solutions of old problems or it may set up new problems. In either case our horizon is widened and our understanding of ancient civilizations deepened.

One of the most interesting discoveries of recent years was the finding of the site of ancient Pylos with the archives of Nestor's palace by Mr. K. Kourouniotes and Mr. Carl W. Blegen in the Spring of 1939. What was intended to be merely a preliminary survey uncovered part of the foundations of a palace and several hundred inscribed terra cotta tablets of the second millennium B.C. The inscriptions on these tablets, which comprise the archives of Nestor's palace, are written in a language apparently identical with that on the tablets found by Sir Arthur Evans in the palace of Knossos in Crete. This is the first time abundant material for the study of this tongue — the "Minoan" or "Helladic" — has been available from Greece proper instead of Crete. What does this fact mean? Were Nestor's books kept by Cretan refugees after the destruction of the Cretan empire? Or were the languages of Minoan Crete and prehistoric Greece identical? Is the language an early form of Greek? What are the respective dates of the two sets of tablets? Above all do these new tablets help us in our quest for the clue to interpret this early language? These

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and many other questions await solution. Perhaps when excavations are resumed after the war there may be found in Nestor's palace the long awaited Greek "Rosetta stone" which will correlate the Minoan language with one that we can read. In the meantime the systematic catalogue which Mr. Blegen and his associates are preparing of all the characters and word-groups which appear on the Pylos tablets will systematize this new material. And at the same time Professor John L. Myres of Oxford has undertaken to study the many tablets from Knossos found by Sir Arthur Evans long ago but not yet published. The stage seems set for important new results in this field.

Every visitor to Delphi has walked up the Sacred Way in Apollo's sanctuary and studied the ruined buildings to the right and left of the winding path. With a Baedeker or a Pausanias in hand he has tried to reconstruct in his imagination the various offerings and treasuries of the different Greek communities and the great temple of Apollo which dominated them. But neither the descriptions of Pausanias nor previous excavations prepared us for the astonishing discoveries made by the French Archaeological School in the spring of 1939. Under one of the paving stones of the Sacred Way, which the French excavators lifted up merely to see whether it was inscribed on the under side, they found an ancient treasure trove, the like of which had never been seen before. Besides beautiful bronzes there came to light a heap of fragments of ivory and gold, which evidently had formed part of several archaic chryselephantine statues — three life-size, five somewhat smaller. It is the first time that gold and ivory sculptures have actually been found, though we had long known of their existence from the enthusiastic descriptions of ancient authors.

On another much excavated site surprising new discoveries have also been made. Olympia was systematically excavated during the eighties of the last century by the German Archaeological Institute, and visitors to the local Museum there and to the sacred precinct of Zeus are familiar with the discoveries made. Indeed the sculptures from the temple of Zeus are among the finest extant examples of Greek art and the Hermes of Praxiteles was found, it will be remembered, in the temple of Hera, in the very place in which Pausanias saw and described it about 1700 years ago. Recently the German Institute undertook the excavation of the Stadium which had been neglected as unpromising, for it was thought that the place where the contests were held was presumably not cluttered with offerings. Surprisingly the site proved among the most remunerative. Much ancient armor was found which had been set up by victors and later buried. Bronze shields, greaves, helmets, and weapons, many beautifully decorated with reliefs and engravings, came to light, as well as tripods and other utensils. Most of these objects belong to the 7th century B.C. and have greatly enlarged our knowledge of early Greek art. Its power and grandeur may be appreciated, for in-

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stance, in the splendid griffin heads which once decorated early tripods.

The discoveries at Olympia cover a period of several years, but again the year preceding the war proved epoch-making, for two objects of great beauty and rarity were brought to light. One was a large statuette of a horse with bridle and harness, evidently part of a chariot which was dedicated by a victor in a chariot race. The date is about 460 B.C., two decades or so later than the bronze horse in the Metropolitan Museum, which is the only known comparable object. The surmise that the latter once formed part of a chariot group has now been strengthened. Evidently in addition to full-size chariots like the one of which the famous Delphi charioteer formed a part, successful contestants dedicated smaller groups. Both the New York and the Olympia horses are cast solid.

The second recently found object of prime importance is a terra cotta group of Zeus and Ganymede, over half life-size. To judge by its support, it once served as the akroterion of a temple. The period is again the 5th century, about 450 B.C. The head of the group was found in the excavations of sixty years ago and was immediately identified by Professor Furtwängler as Zeus. It fitted the newly discovered figure. The attraction of the sculpture is greatly enhanced by its polychromy, which is still in good condition, the predominant colors being black, yellow, and two shades of red. Once again we learn that colored sculpture can be both effective and harmonious.

Recent excavations in Attica have been significant. The systematic excavation of the old Athenian market place has been carried on over a period of years by the American School of Classical Studies under the direction of Mr. T. L. Shear. It has brought to light many important buildings, inscriptions, sculptures, and vases which have taught us much that is new in the history of Athens. The discovery in 1939 of a chamber tomb of the Mycenaean age is especially important, for in addition to several fine vases it contained an ivory toilet box, beautifully carved with reliefs of griffins and deer in exuberant Mycenaean style.

Likewise the recent excavations in the ancient Athenian cemetery, the Greek excavations at Vari, the publication of the 7th century Attic vases from Aegina give us a new idea of the importance of early Athens. And this importance is borne out by the present assignment of the Sounion group of statues and the early "Apollo" in New York to the end of the 7th century or about 600 B.C. Athens now emerges as one of the leading Greek states in the field of art in pre-Solonic times, long before Peisistratos. The Eupatrids, the Athenian aristocrats who owned large estates in Attica, evidently used their wealth not only on themselves but to stimulate the arts. Moreover the mounting evidence that Attica exported her pottery far and wide as early as the last quarter of the 7th century indicates a flourishing Athenian commerce.

We must mention also a monument of the time of Peisistratos (561–527 B.C.) which has recently enlarged our

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vision of Attic art. The tall marble gravestone which was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1911 has received a noteworthy addition. The sphinx which formed its crowning feature has been identified and mounted on top of the slender shaft. For the first time we have an outstanding archaic grave monument with base, shaft, capital, and finial preserved. The boldness of the conception and the effectiveness of the ensemble make us realize the greatness of Athenian sculptors a century before the Parthenon.

The excavations in Samos under the direction of Mr. E. Buschor have added another chapter to the history of that island. Heretofore its greatness had been associated with the tyrant Polykrates (535–515 B.C.). But recent excavations have given us a different picture. The precinct of Hera had well-built temples as early as the 8th, the 7th, and the first half of the 6th century B.C., and distinguished sculptures in marble and bronze have been found which may be dated more than 50 years before Polykrates. Some of these sculptures were colossi two and three times life size, suggesting great wealth and enterprise. Evidently the Geomoroi, the mercantile princes of that time, were patrons of the arts, like the Eupatrids of Attica.

Several other excavations in Greece have netted important results. Mr. S. Marinatos undertook a new dig at Thermopylae in 1938 which has clarified the topography of the battle of 480 B.C. He was able to locate the actual site where the Greeks fought to the last man, by the great number of arrow heads, which bore out Herodotos' description of the cloud of arrows loosed against the Greeks by the Persians.

Mr. A. J. B. Wace began new investigations at Mycenae in 1939. He was able to determine that the early Greek sculptures from that site, which were found long ago and are now in the National Museum in Athens, did not form part of the archaic temple of Athena, as had been thought, but perhaps decorated an altar. A long-standing puzzle has thus been clarified. He also found evidence that the "Treasury of Atreus," the date of which had been disputed, cannot be earlier than about 1350 B.C. Among the objects discovered the most remarkable is a small group in ivory of two sitting women with a child standing before them. The style is puzzling. Some authorities even believe the group to be not Mycenaean at all but an Oriental product from Syria.

A Swedish expedition which dug at Dendra in 1939 under Mr. A. Persson was fortunate enough to find that rare thing — an unplundered chamber tomb of Mycenaean time. It was probably the resting place of a queen, for it contained much gold jewelry. The most remarkable single object was a gold cup, with a band of heart-shaped leaves in repoussé relief, to be dated probably about 1400 B.C.

To turn from Greece to Italy: Among the most significant events in recent years was the finding of an archaic Greek sanctuary of Hera at the mouth of the river Silaris in the neighborhood of Paestum. The two discoverers, Mr. U. Zanotti-Bianco

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and Mrs. P. Zancani Montuoro, lit upon the site by following the directions of Strabo and Pliny who located the sanctuary within 50 stadia of Paestum and thirty thousand paces from Sorrento. Comparatively near the surface there emerged foundations of several buildings with interesting architectural remains, pits with votive terra cottas, and inscriptions with dedications to Hera. The most astounding discovery, however, was a series of metopes which had once decorated a large temple, but had subsequently been reused as building material. The subjects include the adventures of Herakles — his battle with the Centaurs, his encounters with Nessos, Antaios, and the Nemean lion, his contest with Apollo for the Delphic tripod, and his capture of the Erymanthian boar; scenes of the Oresteia with Orestes, Elektra, and Klytemnestra; of the Trojan cycle with Achilles, Troilos, Hektor, Patroklos, Hecuba, and Andromache; of the myth of Phineus; and the story of Leto. A recent writer called these reliefs the "richest single repertory of myths — apart from the compendious writers — which antiquity has transmitted to our day." The scenes are executed in sandstone in an exceedingly lively, individual style, of a decade or two before the middle of the sixth century. Unfortunately the surface is much weathered. In addition a few metopes of a somewhat later date, about 500 B.C., were found. They represent women dancing or fleeing from pursuers. Not since the discovery of the archaic friezes of the Delphian Treasuries has our store of archaic sculpture received such important and numerous additions. Here again it will take considerable time to evaluate and properly publish this wealth of new material.

Our knowledge of Roman sculpture has recently been increased by the finding of several magnificent reliefs of the time of the early Empire. The discovery resulted from excavations in Rome in and about the Papal Palace of the Cancelleria, near the Corso Vittorio Emanuele. The reliefs are evidently of the Flavian period, to judge by some of the portraits, and are comparable in importance to those of the Ara Pacis of Augustus.

In conclusion we must mention two recently published books which have substantially advanced our knowledge of Greek civilization and rank among the greatest contributions made in the field. One is *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* by Michael Rostovtzeff in which the whole period of Greek history after Alexander the Great to the Roman conquest is evaluated; the other is the second edition of *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters* by J. D. Beazley, in which about 16,000 Attic vases are attributed to their painters — an astounding accomplishment which opens up new vistas in the study of Greek pottery.

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Postwar Problems

A UNIVERSITIES Committee on Postwar International Problems has grown out of conferences held at the Institute for Advanced Study. The World Peace Foundation will give the project financial and staff support.

The Central Committee consists of Ralph Barton Perry, professor of philosophy, Harvard University, chairman; Frank Aydelotte, director of the Institute for Advanced Study, vice-chairman; Edwin F. Gay, director of the Huntington Library, vice-chairman; Arthur O. Lovejoy, professor of philosophy, Johns Hopkins University, vice-chairman; Leland M. Goodrich, acting director of the World Peace Foundation, executive secretary; James Phinney Baxter, 3d, president of Williams College; George H. Blakeslee, professor of international relations, Clark University; Frederick S. Dunn, director of the Yale Institute of International Studies; Edward Mead Earle, Institute for Advanced Study; Guy Stanton Ford, executive secretary of the American Historical Association; Charles H. McIlwain, professor of government, Harvard University; Wallace Notestein, professor of history, Yale University; Edwin G. Nourse, The Brookings Institution; C. Reinold Noyes, vice-president, Bureau of Economic Research; Jacob Viner, professor of economics, University of Chicago; and Payson Wild, associate professor of government, Harvard University.

The Committee has invited individuals and groups in over 150 colleges and universities to cooperate in a systematic study of policies and ideas for postwar settlement. Memoranda on questions of policy will be prepared for cooperating groups. On the basis of reports and of conferences of specially qualified persons, recommendations on significant questions will be formulated for publication and for use by Government agencies.

Individuals or groups are invited to communicate with Professor Leland M. Goodrich, Executive Secretary, Universities Committee, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

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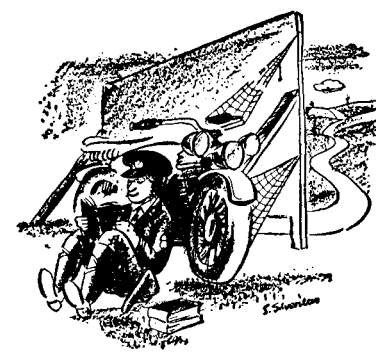

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OUR READERS COMMENT

On "Pedagogues and Pedagese"

To the Editor: Now we know the terrible truth! Educators are suspect or anathema in the scholarly world. Daniel Gibson, in the Winter issue, impaled us upon the spear of linguistic scholarship, because we have a technical vocabulary of our own and use it (even as do the engineers, the medicos, the lawyers, etc.).

However, perhaps it is just as well that the hidden prejudice which exists in many quarters against the technology and technologists of education should be explicitly stated.

Surely the vulgar impression that "anyone can teach" has no more legitimate place than would a similar assumption in vicious criticism of dentists, aeronautical engineers, or any other profession.

Fundamental in Mr. Gibson's thinking is the tracing of all educational development and thought to the *a priori* and unverified "tabula rasa" mental theory of John Locke. If there is any one assumption that does not hold for either educational practice or its theory today, it is that "spotless mind of the infant" theory.

Equally basal in the criticism is a determined effort to confuse the art of teaching with the technologies of measurement of mental product and with the statistical procedures used in handling mass data. Much scorn is poured upon technical papers on statistical methods, whose words seem weird and meaningless to Mr. Gibson. But — we are not told how you or he or any one of us can handle these massed data without these methods.

Mr. Gibson's attack upon educators for seeking to prove such conclusions as "might be deduced by common sense" represents an unfortunate and probably unscholarly stand. So often has it turned out in education that "common sense" opinions are not in accord with fact, that even the most apparently obvious ideas should be checked by actual factual study. The naïve non-professional opinion may be validated thereby; fully as often it is shown to be fallacious.

Mr. Gibson gives his entire case away when he not merely admits, but positively states, that teaching depends only upon some rather intangible qualities of an emotional sort rather than upon knowledge of its techniques. He confuses teaching and educational administration; he confuses teaching and the accurate measurement of such of its results as have been brought within the scope of measurement.

Teacher-training institutions are training not merely class-room teachers but future educational administrators. Much of what is taught is directed to the latter end. It necessarily is not relevant to the art of teaching. But the very aspects most condemned are really needed if the teacher is to know whether his efforts are accomplishing results.

The real heart of Mr. Gibson's attack is upon statistical methods and statistical terminology. I can tell him only that, to me at least, such terms as "skewness," "deciles," "coefficient of correlation $.34 \pm .14$" carry definite meanings, and are of definite use in handling educational situations. We forgive his ascription of sinister origins to these terms, such as "decile" wrongly to astrology, which coined a similar term, and "ogive" to architecture.

Let us put it bluntly: Mr. Gibson doesn't expect the medical man to avoid technical terms of his art such as "minor subluxation of the deltoid." But he does expect the educational technician to avoid describing the degree of reliability of an achievement test in chemistry as "$.67 \pm .09$." Each is equally "cryptic" to the outsider. What right has Mr. Gibson to assume that the difficult and exacting profession of education should use only the general vocabulary? Indeed, we ask him whether the lag of education behind the other professions, in its general effectiveness of service, isn't due to this continual attempt to hold to the old idea that anyone can teach and any non-professional understands what is done in schools and why?

Mr. Gibson again gives his case away by banning schools of education because they must send prospective teachers to other departments to learn the subject matter they expect to teach. One is tempted to become personal, and to wonder whether his own knowledge of the subject-matter he teaches hasn't been gained at the expense of the technology of good teaching!

STEPHEN G. RICH
Verona, N. J.

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To the Editor: Dr. Rich accuses me, among other things, of a "determined effort to confuse the art of teaching with the technologies of measurement of mental product," etc. I regret his misinterpretation; one of my major purposes in writing was to show that such confusion exists, rather, in the colleges of education. The conditions producing this result Dr. Rich himself describes: "Teacher training institutions," he says, "are training not merely [sic] classroom teachers, but future educational administrators. Much of what is taught is directed to the latter end. It necessarily is not relevant to the art of teaching." If that is so, why must all teachers, even in primary grades, take these courses in order to qualify for appointment? His statement does help to explain, though not to justify, the exaggerated emphasis on tests and measurements, administrative procedures, and much of the other technical paraphernalia of courses in education.

The real points at issue are these: Is the task of educating the future generation an exact science like engineering and chemistry? No one with an understanding of the problems and materials involved will hesitate in his answer. Dr. Rich himself speaks of the *art* of teaching. Second, have colleges of education, consciously or not, lost sight of what should be their chief objective — the training of teachers, not statisticians — in their concern over subsidiary matters of doubtful validity? That they have done so is my contention in "Pedagogues and Pedagese," and my illustrations and arguments can not be repeated here. I hold no brief for "common sense" (a term which appears once, in reference to a particular matter, in my article) as the answer to all questions, nor do I anywhere state that "teaching depends only upon some rather intangible qualities of an emotional sort." I am still more surprised that anyone could gather from my words "the vulgar impression that 'anyone can teach.'" The successful teacher must have a thorough, an intimate, knowledge of his subject and of its relations to other fields of learning, must be able to perceive and appeal to the particular psychological situation of his student or students, and must have patience and an infectious enthusiasm for his work. I believe, further, that courses in tests and measurements and the like, though they may have a place, should be decidedly subordinate in the teacher's equipment.

I am surprised that Dr. Rich considers my censure the first printed effort to make explicit what has long been a "hidden prejudice" held by scholars in other departments. To mention only one of such attacks, I refer him to Dr. Abraham Flexner's *Universities, American, English, German* (Oxford, 1930), where these same educators are pilloried much more successfully and unmercifully.

DANIEL GIBSON
Charleston, S. C.

On "There'll Always Be An England"

To the Editor: A curious omission is made in Mr. Costigan's survey of English history in the Autumn number. He dates the end of Catholic England at the beheading of Sir Thomas More. If he means that the supremacy of the Pope in England terminated then, no one will dispute it. But he calls the next epoch, Puritan England.

Sir Thomas More was beheaded in 1535. The Puritans came into power about 1640. Does Mr. Costigan ask us to believe that nothing significant happened in England during the intervening hundred years? Is not the age of Elizabeth and James I, when the foundations of England as a world power were laid, and when English literature reached its peak, worthy of being considered an epoch in her history?

Nor could this epoch be called "Puritan" in any sense of the word. All its leaders — Elizabeth and James, Drake, Raleigh, Bacon, Spenser, Shakespeare, Jonson, Donne, Lovelace, just to mention a few — were anti-Puritan. Ecclesiastically, it was the period when the Church of England was establishing itself as an autonomous branch of the Catholic Church. Her theologians were writing their definitive works; her Prayer Book was taking shape; the King James Version of the Bible was published; and outstanding Churchmen were occupying the chief offices of state. This age fought valiantly, though not always wisely, against the rising tide of Puritanism. When, at last, it succumbed, it also had its martyrs. We may conveniently place its termination on the scaffolds where Charles I and Archbishop Laud were beheaded.

BONNELL SPENCER, O.H.C.
West Park, N. Y.

Dear Editor: The misapprehension upon which the Reverend Mr. Spencer's letter appears to be founded is possibly that of supposing that the essay in question was intended to deal with *all* the Englands of which history has record. It proposed only to "take a look at some of these earlier Englands." An attempt was made to distinguish

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between at least seven different Englands which have existed, some successively and others simultaneously, since the time of the Great Civil War. In order to avoid placing these against a background entirely denuded of historical content, the pale wraith of a medieval ideal, different in character from any subsequent manifestations of the national ideal, was briefly evoked. Two paragraphs only were consecrated to this laudable intent.

In another essay, the concept of medieval England might equally well be analyzed and be found to yield as many national selves as that of modern England. There would be, for example, the England of the "ruthless king," William the Conqueror or Edward Longshanks; the England of the feudal baron, Geoffrey de Mandeville or the Earl de Warrenne or Warwick the Kingmaker; the chivalric England of the Lion Heart or the Black Prince; the England of clerics saintly as Anselm or bold as Becket; the England of Wycliffe and weavers and Lollards; or the England of the unnameable and unnumberable serfs who break into the foreground for a few desperate days in the summer of 1381.

Equally deliberate was the omission of those Englands even earlier than the Middle Ages — the Danish England of Canute; the Saxon England of Alfred; the twilight Britain of Gildas and Arthur; the Britain, "when Uricon the city stood"; and the Britain of the ancient Britons themselves. Lest any attempt to conjure from the shades a Druid specter be thought entirely vain and profitless, it may be recalled how Mussolini, in his latest pitiful bombast, affirmed, no doubt more crudely than its bitterest enemies could have hoped, a point of view the opposite of that advanced in my essay. "If you strip an Englishman of his dinner jacket," wheezed Il Duce, "you see the barbarian on whose neck Caesar set his foot thousands of years ago." And presumably, he might have added, if you strip the Englishwoman of her evening dress you will find the unconquerable spirit of Boadicea.

GIOVANNI COSTIGAN
Seattle, Wash.

On "The National Debt: Means to Postwar Prosperity"

Dear Mr. Strauss: I have read with a great deal of interest your article on "The National Debt: Means to Postwar Prosperity" in the Autumn number. It is not my intention to take exception to your reasoning or to the conclusion which you have drawn, but I should like to be so bold as to ask whether you would care to furnish some supporting data which I believe would be very illuminating. . . .

It is obvious from the questions asked that I am an ordinary business man without the time to explore such sources of information as would be necessary to form a definite opinion of your argument. Since this is a very vital and pertinent subject, I am sure that there are many others like myself who would appreciate an opportunity to examine these supporting data. . . .

W. OHLSON, *President,*
Coast Sash and Door Company, Tacoma, Wash.

Dear Mr. Ohlson: Estimates of Federal expenditures have been revised sharply upward since the publication of my article on the national debt in the Autumn issue. Current figures are summarized in the National City Bank Bulletin on Economic Conditions.

Federal expenditures in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942 amounted to $34.6 billions. Net government receipts from tax revenues during this period aggregated $12.8 billions. The resulting deficit amounted to $21.8 billions for the fiscal year.

Non-banking purchase of government securities, by private individuals, insurance companies, corporations, building and loan associations, mutual savings banks, etc., amounted to $15.2 billions during the year. Only $6.6 billions of the federal deficit remained to be financed by the purchase of government securities by the commercial banking system. The inflationary gap thus created in the fiscal year 1942, as may be seen from the above figures, was not of overwhelming size.

The current fiscal year, however, presents a changed situation. Federal expenditures are now estimated by the National City Bank at $76.0 billions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943. Only $23.9 billions of this amount will be raised through taxes. Non-banking purchase of government securities are not expected to exceed $22.8 billions, so that an inflationary gap of nearly $30.0 billions remains, after all present taxes, representing the amount of government securities which the commercial banking system will be called upon to absorb during the present fiscal year.

If this unprecedented inflationary gap is to be prevented, it will be necessary for Congress in drafting the new tax bill to find additional sources of revenue on an enormous scale. This can be accomplished only through greatly in-

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creased taxation and/or a system of forced loans to the government, the primary impact of which will inescapably rest upon those individuals whose incomes fall in the middle and lower income brackets.

The distribution of income and of existing taxes in the United States has been most recently tabulated by Helen Tarakov, in her monograph "Who Does Pay the Taxes?" (*Social Research*, Autumn 1942). These estimates are as follows:

Consumer Income Level	*Millions of Consumer Units*	*Total Income (in millions)*	*Taxes as per-cent of Income*
Under $1,000....	12.43	$ 7,824	16.0%
1,000– 2,000....	16.31	23,716	15.5%
2,000– 3,000....	7.51	18,396	15.8%
3,000– 5,000....	4.62	17,497	16.2%
5,000–10,000....	1.40	9,920	18.5%
Over 10,000....	.79	21,110	28.4%
Total.....	43.05	$98,463	18.8%

These are 1941 estimates, and take into account neither the increase in consumer incomes nor the increase in taxes that have taken place since 1941. National income for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943 has been estimated by the National City Bank at $120.0 billions. The National Bureau of Economic Research has estimated that in the fiscal year 1943, a total of $109.0 billions will be paid to consumers in wages, salaries, and interest and dividend payments. They estimate that $73.0 billions of this amount will be received by income-earners in the middle brackets of between $1,750 and $10,000. It is from this large group that the major portion of new taxes and/or forced loans must be raised by the Treasury if the inflationary gap is to be closed.

Fellner has estimated, in the June 1942 issue of the *American Economic Review*, that in order to close the inflationary gap through additional taxes or loans, the Federal government must adopt measures sufficiently stringent to absorb from 15% to 90% of all private income at the various levels (see accompanying table).

Unless funds are removed from private hands through some such scale of taxation, we shall be faced in the near future with inflationary forces of such strength that it seems most unlikely to expect that price control and rationing measures will be adequate to prevent a rapid upward movement of all prices.

Great Britain already has adopted a tax scale which is far closer to the realities of the situation than the taxes at present in force in the United States. The following table compares British and American taxes at the present time. In order to render the figures comparable, New York State income taxes have been added to the Federal taxes in computing the American level of taxation:

Income	*United States*[1]	*Great Britain*[2]	*Fellner's*[3] *Estimates*
$ 1,000.....	1.5%	5.0%	Exempt
1,200.....	1.8	8.7	10.0%
1,500.....	5.3	12.4	15.0
2,000.....	9.4	18.9	20.0
4,000.....	16.7	30.3	40.0
6,000.....	20.5	34.1	50.0
10,000.....	26.1	42.5	60.0
$100,000.....	69.4	83.8	90.0

[1] Income and Victory Tax, not including postwar credit.
[2] Income tax, not including postwar credit.
[3] Percentages 1, 2, and 4 interpolated by author.

Comparison of the British figures with Fellner's estimates is of interest. If postwar credits were included in the tax figures shown in the tabulation of British taxes, the correspondence with Fellner's figures would be even more striking.

On the assumption that private incomes must be reduced by some such sum as is indicated by the above tax estimates, the question arises: What proportion of the funds that must be taken from private hands should be taken in the form of taxes, and what proportion in the form of forced loans, subject to refund in the postwar period?

The fundamental reason why it is desirable that a portion of the funds required by the government during the war period should be taken in the form of loans, rather than in the form of taxes, is that in this fashion the government can act to bring about a redistribution of wealth and income in the United States of such type as to reduce the excessive level at which savings tend to accumulate in our economy today.

Private savings during the period 1922–1929, and again in the period 1935–1939, averaged close to $10.0 billions annually. Those individuals with incomes of over $5,000 a year contributed, according to the estimates of the National Resources Committee, nearly 80% of the total volume of private savings, although such individuals amounted to only slightly over 2% of all individuals.

There is no need in the American economy for savings at this rate. Business expansion today is financed largely out of the undistributed profits and the depreciation and depletion reserves of the corporate enterprises themselves. Figures were presented to the Temporary National Economic Committee showing that during the unusually active period 1923–1929, business enterprises were investing an average of $8.7 billions each year in plant and equipment; all but $2.3 billions of this was obtained from internal sources. Between 1935 and 1939, business invested an average of $5.8

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billions each year in plant and equipment; all but $1.0 billions of this was each year obtained from internal sources. It is most unlikely that a situation will develop in the United States in the foreseeable future that will cause the corporate system to expand at a rate requiring private savings of more than $2.0 billions a year.

Residential housing construction can be expected to absorb private savings at the average rate of possibly $3.0 billions in the postwar period. Total demand for private savings, therefore, will probably amount, after the war, to about $5.0 billions annually. In order to achieve economic stability, therefore, it is necessary that private savings be reduced sharply from the present $10.0 billions level.

If the Federal government adopts a program which, in addition to the present $24.0 billions of tax revenue, is designed to withdraw a further $30.0 billions from private hands during the war period, it can bring about a sharp change in the distribution of income in the United States by obtaining the bulk of the added revenue from middle and lower incomes in the form of loans, while the funds withdrawn from those in the $5,000 income bracket and above are taken primarily through taxation. At the close of the war, the national debt would be largely in the hands of those with incomes of less than $5,000. The interest payments on this debt would be met out of continued heavy taxation on the wealthy (although at a much lower scale than during the war period). It is possible that in the postwar period, the savings of those in the upper income brackets — and it must be remembered that these individuals account for 80% of all private saving — could be sharply reduced by this process.

I hope that the statistical information presented in this letter will clarify some of the points you raise in your letter. I shall be much interested to learn your reaction, and would welcome the opportunity to thrash this matter out at greater length if you are interested in doing so.

WILLIAM V. STRAUSS
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Editor: The article by Dr. Wright, "Geography for War and Peace," is of unusual interest to me, and its timely nature would suggest that readers in other fields of science may find it not less significant. It occasions no surprise to me that this article is written with a broad grasp of fundamentals for I am familiar with the author and his work. He has special ability in bringing together aspects of the fields of history and geography.

RALPH H. BROWN
University of Minnesota

Our Authors

The editorial by JOHN W. NASON presents the unindoctrinated point of view of a new member of the Editorial Board. Swarthmore College's young president was elected to the Board by the Phi Beta Kappa Senate in December and attended his first meeting in January. A former Rhodes Scholar and professor of philosophy, Mr. Nason was immediately at home in the Board's four-hour discussion of subjects and authors for *The American Scholar*.

WENDELL WILLKIE, in his article "Freedom and the Liberal Arts," is not outside his realm of sympathy and knowledge. Following his graduation from Indiana University he taught history in a high school in Coffeyville, Kansas. Mr. Willkie's ambition at that time was to study and teach history and to write in that field. Turning to law for a livelihood, however, his future became directed first to public utilities and then to politics. He remains a student of history, particularly of the age of the elder Pitt, and as such commands the respect of editors, scholars, and historians. Mr. Willkie reviewed Lord David Cecil's *The Young Melbourne* for the winter 1939–40 issue of *The Key Reporter*, Phi Beta Kappa's membership quarterly.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS, Princeton University's Dean of the College, has long been influential in the affairs of Phi Beta Kappa. For nine years he has served as a member of the Society's executive Senate and for eleven years as a member of the Editorial Board of *The American Scholar*. His recent publications have included the books *Life in College*, *A Primer for Tomorrow*, and *The City of Man* (co-author), as well as *The American Scholar* article "Can We Educate for Democracy?" (Summer 1942). His experience as an active member and officer of the Princeton Chapter has made his service to the United Chapters especially valuable. In the statement appearing here, Dean Gauss speaks for the Phi Beta Kappa Senate and its special Committee on Policy whose other members are Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Chancellor Oliver C. Carmichael, Professor William T. Hastings, Dean Charles B. Lipman, and Professor Marjorie Nicolson.

JEROME MELLQUIST has for the past fifteen years made an intensive study of the modern art movement in this country and abroad. His first interest, however, is American art. His various studies and criticisms have appeared in leading

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American magazines and in his recently published book, *The Emergence of an American Art*. Mr. Mellquist's competent writings have reached many readers beyond the field of the artist. A graduate of Carleton College, he first taught school, later taking graduate work in English at Yale and in journalism at Columbia.

As executive secretary of the Proportional Representation League, GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR. speaks on the question of P. R. with authority and learning. His many civic services include his nine years with the New York City Citizen's Union and eleven years with the National Municipal League. Under Mr. Hallett's managership in 1936 the Proportional Representation Campaign Committee secured the adoption of P. R. in New York City. His published works include *Proportional Representation* (with C. G. Hoag), *Proportional Representation — The Key to Democracy*, and various articles on government. He has helped to run P. R. elections in New York, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and several smaller cities, and has studied the operation of election methods throughout the world for the last 25 years with the aid of extensive correspondence and personal visits to western Canada, England, Ireland, the Netherlands, and Switzerland.

F. A. HERMENS studied economics and law at various German universities, the University of Paris, and the London School of Economics and Political Science. After working for an added three years under research fellowships on a study of anti-parliamentarian movements, he came to the conclusion that the political success of these movements depends largely upon the continued application of proportional representation. He has written books and articles and has lectured on the subject for fourteen years. Refused admittance as a lecturer at Berlin's Institute of Technology on account of "agitation against the new state," Mr. Hermens for three years was assistant professor of economics at the Catholic University of America and is now associate professor of politics and economics at the University of Notre Dame. Since coming to the United States Mr. Hermens has published *The Employer and the Business Cycle*, *The State and the World Economic Crisis*, *Democracy or Anarchy?* and *A Study of Proportional Representation*. The completion of his book *Peace and Democracy* may be delayed by military service.

"Plato and Santayana" represents the first published article by J. GLENN GRAY, youthful

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scholar in philosophy. A graduate of Juniata College in 1936, Mr. Gray returned to his alma mater to teach for two years while he obtained his master's degree in German language and literature. As a resident scholar in philosophy he studied at Columbia University, receiving his doctorate in 1941 upon the publication of his dissertation, *Hegel's Hellenic Ideal.* Since that time Mr Gray has been serving in the United States Army.

JOHN MARTIN has been for fifteen years dance critic for *The New York Times.* Concerning his work and his phenomenal rise to America's foremost authority on the dance, Mr. Martin writes: "Quite innocently I advanced the theory that the dance was an ancient and substantial art, not exclusively concerned with doing rhumbas with beautiful hostesses. Before you could say *dos-à-dos* I found myself elected high priest and rabble rouser, pushed onto the sawdust trail, and proselytizing at the top of my lungs for the dance as a serious department of culture. This has led me into such curious occupations as writing several notably stodgy books, lecturing at colleges, conducting seminars on the writing of criticism, and being sniped at by concert managers who try at least once each year to have me dishonorably discharged. In the light of such goings-on it is easy to see that one's likes and dislikes can become warped. After years of watching people move tremendously, the only thing that really captures my imagination is the prospect of someday spending a sabbatical in a home for paralytics, preferably in the Petrified Forest."

JOHN PEALE BISHOP is well-known as the author of short stories, novels, and poems. To Phi Beta Kappa members he is also known as a "Chapter Poet," as is indicated by the poem appearing here which was read before the Phi Beta Kappa Chapter at Columbia University. In addition to current contributions to leading magazines, Mr. Bishop has recently published his *Selected Poems*, preceded by the poems *Minute Particulars* and the novel *Act of Darkness.*

LUDWIG VON MISES has elicited admiration even from those who disagree most strongly with his economic theses. Following his study at the University of Vienna, Dr. von Mises taught economics and then international relations at the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, Switzerland. For twenty-five years he served as economic adviser to the Austrian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. In 1926 he was Rockefeller Visiting Professor in the United States and in 1940 a visiting professor at the National University of Mexico. His publications include *The Theory of Money and Credit; Socialism, An Economical and Sociological Analysis; Grundprobleme der Nationalekonomie;* and *Nationalekonomie, Theorie des Handelns und Wirtschaftens.*

STEPHAN LACKNER came to the United States from Germany in 1937, even then, at the age of 28, the author of two books published in Switzerland. Primarily interested in history and English literature, Mr. Lackner is now working on a book, *Posterity Reversed the Verdict*, in which he discusses the frailty of human judgment, illustrated by the disparity between contemporary and later opinion, especially of art.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER, a member of *The American Scholar's* board of special Editorial Advisers, has been Curator of the Department of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art since 1925. Lecturer at Columbia University, Yale, and Bryn Mawr, Miss Richter is considered an authority in her field of classical archaeology. Her published books include *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks, Animals in Greek Sculpture, Augustan Art*, and *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection.*

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